The Beaver

A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY Hudson's Bay Company. OUTFIT 279 DEC. 1948

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670.

Governor's Christmas Message

To all our readers I extend on behalf of myself and the Company our warmest greetings and good wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

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A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

OUTFIT 279 DECEMBER 1948

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ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

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TRADE GOODS OF 1748

by Arthur Woodward

Two hundred years ago, the British Parliament published a list of goods sold by the Hudson's Bay Company, with their values in beaver.

THE opening of the eighteenth century found France and England locked in a bitter struggle to obtain mastery of the fur trade. This contest was only to end some sixty years later with the expulsion of the French from Canada. From the beginning, North America was looked upon primarily as a source of natural riches, furs, timber, fish, tar and other badly needed products. The early explorers soon discovered that the Indians would trade valuable furs for inexpensive gewgaws, glass beads, iron axes, hoes, kettles, guns and cloth.

At first it was relatively easy to please the aboriginal hunters. The lists of trade goods during the seventeenth and opening decades of the eighteenth centuries were simple. Gradually, however, the Indians began to understand that the furs of the animals, which they had always taken for granted as being only of value for clothing, were something that the Europeans prized above everything else. As the contest for the furs waxed hotter, more and more desirable articles were produced by the white traders and the Indians themselves became more demanding and more discriminating in their selections of trade goods. When one glances at the list of articles stocking the various Hudson's Bay Company factories in the middle of the eighteenth century, one can readily comprehend how readily the Indians had learned their lesson.

It is interesting to study these old trade lists. Few people realize the magnitude of the industries which supplied the fur trade with these items. Take the glass beads for example. In the appended list for 1748 the first entry is "Beads, large Milk," followed by beads "of colours" and "of all sorts." These glass baubles came from far away Italy.

Beads of the large, milk coloured type, ranged from the spherical to the ovoid in shape. Their colour was almost opalescent, and in some instances semi-translucent. Another variety was made of an opaque porcelain white paste. These ornaments entered the trade early in the eighteenth century and were distributed among the Indian tribes from the southern part of the United States into Canada.

The bulk of the glass beads which came to North America during the early days of the fur trade were made in the little town of Murano, Italy, just outside Venice. All of the beads were handmade, usually by families working in their own home factories. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries only a few types of glass beads predominated. Then, as the families died out, or the demands of the Indians changed, the beads likewise changed in character. There were tribal preferences. For example, during the seventeenth century long thin bugle beads were in vogue among the eastern tribesmen. Those Indians who used porcupine quills with which to adorn their garments, prior to the coming of the white men, switched to glass beads without any effort. Beads were easier to handle than quills, and less dangerous. In quilling leather or cloth, the sharp tips of the quills, when cut off, flipped through the air and sometimes blinded the women quillers.

Today archeologists excavating in historic sites use glass beads as a means of determining the age of the site because, by careful study of the beads and other imperishable trade goods found in association with the beads, a fairly accurate chronology of the site may be determined.

There were colour preferences too. On the northwest coast, blue beads were considered the most valuable, while white beads went begging. Among the southern Indians, particularly the Creeks, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Cherokee, white beads were sacred emblems of peace and were greatly in demand.

During the middle of the eighteenth century, England was the recognized leader in the production of trade goods. Sheffield and Birmingham were the centres for cutlery, iron mongery of all sorts, brass ware, buttons, guns, swords etc.

Trade guns of the sort mentioned in the list were manufactured at Birmingham in great quantities. Since the Birmingham proof house was not established until around 1767, many of the early trade

Covered copper kettle of the type sold by the H B C from the 18th century to the 20th. Found in an Ottawa Indian grave in Michigan, and now in the Davenport, Iowa, Public Museum. One dug up from the ruins of Prince of Wales's Fort (destroyed 1782) has a rounded bottom.

Paper packets of vermilion paint powder from China, in the original package. *Wisconsin Historical Society.*

muskets sent to North America were made of the shoddiest materials. The iron barrels were forged of what was termed "sham damn skelp." The guns were also known as "park paling muskets" and the reputable manufacturers of firearms referred to the manufacturers of the trade guns as "blood merchants" or "blood houses."

At this time all firearms were flint-locks. Accordingly gun flints were one of the standard articles of trade. It seems a bit curious that French gun flints should be called for on the 1748 list when the bulk of flints during this period were being struck at Brandon quarries, some eighty odd miles out of London.

The history of gun flint manufacture is in itself a fascinating study. Flint working is perhaps the most ancient industry in England. In paleolithic times the aboriginal inhabitants of England went to the chalk and flint deposits of Brandon to obtain material for their arrow heads, knives, spear points and other primitive weapons and tools.

About 1686 the official manufacture of gun flints began at Brandon and from then on, until 1835, those quarries were the source of all flints used by the British government. Even after the percussion lock weapons began to supplant the flint-locks, the manufacture of strike-a-light flints and gun flints for use in Africa, Spain, Italy and India, continued until around World War I. Then the demand for flints dwindled until finally there were no more calls for them and the knapping of flints was discontinued. Now, however, owing to the great demand for flints, particularly from the United States and Africa, four or five apprentice workers are again working the ancient deposits.

In the olden days the workmen used cabalistic signs to tally their flints, but as time went on the meaning of these signs became lost and the practice was abandoned.

Flints were packed into tubs or sacks containing from 5,000 to 20,000 flints. The knappers "reckoned" and sold their flints by the thousand, using the French term "per mille," which was introduced to the country by the French prisoners of war during the Marlborough campaign. For export the flints were packed in half casks, each of which would hold 2,000 musket, 3,000 carbine or 4,000 pistol flints. The weight of these containers would average sixty-five to seventy pounds.

The vermillion paint listed came from various places but the best paint came from China. It was sent into the Indian country done up in small ounce paper packages.

Brass kettles, "of all sizes," were sold in "nests" during the eighteenth century. Toward the latter end of the period copper kettles with covers were sold also, but these seem to have been used only in the north country. At the time of which we speak, the camp kettles traded to the Indians were of brass and without covers. They ranged in size from tiny, almost miniature, vessels to very large ones. They were rounded on the bottom instead of flat and the rims were reinforced with heavy iron loops. The ears holding the bails were generally riveted securely in place, but hard camp usage often tore these loose and the Indians were forever importuning the English to furnish their villages with blacksmiths to "men their kittles, axes, hoes and guns." Birmingham and Sheffield were the centres for the manufacture of these kettles, more particularly Birmingham, which had long been a place where brass ware was turned out. The materials for the brass kettles, and later the copper ones, came from the mines in Cornwall.

In 1748 the buttons, "coat and waistcoat," were probably of cast brass or pewter. Again Birmingham was the principal source of these fasteners. There were many kinds of buttons, but it seems unlikely that fancy cloth or horsehair buttons were being used by the Indians. Nor is it probable that the more expensive bone buttons covered with gold or silver, such as those used on the uniforms of British officers, were much in demand.

Gilt brass buttons were not in vogue at this particular time. The invention of gilt buttons is attributed to John Taylor of Birmingham in 1767, and thereafter the use of gilt brass buttons spread rapidly. Although the data are available there is no space to enter into a discussion here of the manufacture of these buttons.

The knives listed were in all likelihood the products of Sheffield cutlers. This city has been the centre for the manufacture of all sorts of cutlery since the days of Chaucer. Other centres for the manufacture of knives in ancient times were London, Salisbury,

Eighteenth Century brass kettle. *Barbara Woodward.*

NUMBER XIX.

STANDARD of TRADE at the ſeveral Factories of the *Hudſon's Bay* Company, ſubſiſting this preſent Year 1748.

NAMES of GOODS.		AR		MR		YF		CR	
		Quantity valued.	Beaver.	Quantity valued.	Beaver.	Quantity valued.	Beaver.	Quantity valued.	Beaver.
Beads, large Milk	Pounds	½	1	½	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
of Colours		½	1	½	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
of all Sorts		—	—	—	—	1	2	1	2
Kettles, Braſs, of all Sizes		1	1	1	1	1	1½	1	1½
Black Lead		1	1	1	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Powder		1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1	1
Shot		5	1	5	1	4	1	4	1
Sugar, Brown		2	1	2	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Tobacco, *Brazil*		1	1	1	1	½	1	½	1
Leaf		1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1	1
Roll		1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1	1
Thread		1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Vermilion	Ounces	1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1	1
Brandy, *Engliſh*	Gallons	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
Waters, White or Red		1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
Broad Cloth, Red, White, or Blue	Yard	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	3
Fine Blue		—	—	—	—	1	5	1	5
Bays, Red or Blue		1	1	1	1	1	1½	1	1½
Blankets	N°	1	6	1	6	1	7	1	7
Duffels, Red, White, or Blue	Yards	1	1½	1	1½	1	2	1	2
Flannel		1	1	1	1	1	1½	1	1½
Gartering		2	1	2	1	1½	1	1½	1
Lace, broad Orris		2	1	2	1	1½	1	- -	- -
Worſted Binding		2	1	2	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Awl Blades	N°	12	1	12	1	8	1	8	1
Buttons, Coat	Dozen	12	1	12	1	4	1	4	1
Waiſtcoat		12	1	12	1	6	1	6	1
Cargo Breeches	Pair	1	3	1	3	- -	- -	- -	- -
Burning Glaſſes	N°	—	—	2	1	1	1	2	1
Bayonets		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Combs, Ivory		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Egg Boxes		4	1	4	1	3	1	3	1
Barrel Boxes		—	—	—	—	3	1	- -	- -
Feathers, Red		2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Fiſh Hooks		20	1	20	1	14	1	10	1
Fire Steels		4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1
Files, large flat		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flints, Fre.		20	1	20	1	16	1	16	1
Guns, 4 Foot		1	12	1	12	1	14	1	14
3¼ Foot		1	11	1	11	1	14	1	14
3 Foot		1	10	1	10	1	14	1	14
Piſtols		1	4	1	4	1	7	- -	- -
Gunworms		4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1
Gloves, Yarn	Pair	1	1	1	1	1	1	- -	- -
Gogles		2	1	2	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Handkerchiefs	N°	1	1½	1	1½	1	1½	1	1½
Hats, laced		1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
Hatchets		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Hawk-bells	Pair	8	1	8	1	6	1	6	1
Ice Chiſſels	N°	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Knives		8	1	8	1	4	1	4	1
Looking Glaſſes		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Mocotaugans		2	1	2	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Needles		12	1	12	1	12	1	12	1
Net Lines		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Powder Horns		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Rings, plain		6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1
Rings, Seal or Stone		3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1
Runlets, 3 Gallon		1	2	1	2	- -	- -	- -	- -
2 Gallon		1	1½	1	1½	1	1	1	1
1 Gallon		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3 Quart		—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
2 Quart		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Sword Blades		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Scrapers		2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Sciſſars	Pair	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Spoons	N°	4	1	4	1	2	1	2	1
Shirts		1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
Shoes	Pair	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
Stockens		1	1½	1	1½	1	2	1	2
Saſhes, Worſted	N°	2	1	2	1	1	1½	1	1½
Thimbles, Braſs		6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1
Tobacco Boxes		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Tobacco Tongs	Pair	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Trunks, Red Leather	N°	1	2	1	2	1	4	1	2½
Twine	Skeins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cottons	Yards	—	—	1	1	- -	- -	1	1½

The list of trade goods for 1748 published in the "Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining Hudson's Bay and of the trade carried on there." The only Indian word, *Mocotaugans*, means crooked knives. Of the 65 items, 45 are carried by the fur trade department of the Company in 1948.

Pewter button, one and a quarter inches in diameter, dug up at Fort Severn, Hudson Bay. The Indian is shooting at a running fox with a flintlock gun.

Woodstock and Godalming, as well as Birmingham. Sheffield, however, has long been noted for its fine steel products.

In 1624 the cutlers of Hallamshire (the district about Sheffield) formed their corporation and began assigning marks to members of their guild. Unfortunately for students, some of the companies later began stamping their wares with the names of their customers or retail dealers, which is confusing, to say the least, when one is attempting to track down the origin of a certain specimen.

The eighteenth century knives were ordinarily of good honest workmanship. It was the day of the hand craftsman, and the cutler at his forge was primarily concerned with turning out a blade worthy of his name. It was important to have knives hardened and tempered to just the right degree. Fine surgical lancets were tempered in the flames to about 430°. When the metal assumed a pale straw colour in the forge it was considered heated to the right temperature. Table knives and other blades of like character, including butcher knives, of the kind used in the fur trade, glowed yellow, tinged slightly with purple at about 520°, while swords, watch springs and gun locks assumed colours ranging from a light purple at 530° through a dark blue at 570°. The forging of steel for these items, including the "Scissars" on the 1748 list, was an advanced art in the eighteenth century, albeit the manufacture of small cutlery was a dangerous one for the workmen involved. In those days, all such items as pen and pocket knives, razors, scissors, butcher knives, needles, etc., were dry ground. Dense clouds of stone and metal dust filled the airless rooms, known as "hulls," and caused diseases of the eyes, throats and lungs of the workers. It was estimated that about 885 out of 1000 grinders died each year! *Truly, this was a terrific price to pay for a few hundred thousands of knives, forks and razor blades.

One might continue indefinitely in the descriptions of the various articles used in the trade but space forbids. Each of the items mentioned contains a story in itself. The blankets, the numerous kinds of cloth, the liquors and "waters" (fortified wines) as well as the different kinds of shot for the muskets and the regulations concerning them (swan shot for example was prohibited to the trade during the eighteenth century but even the traders and officials themselves didn't know why). All of these have stories to tell.

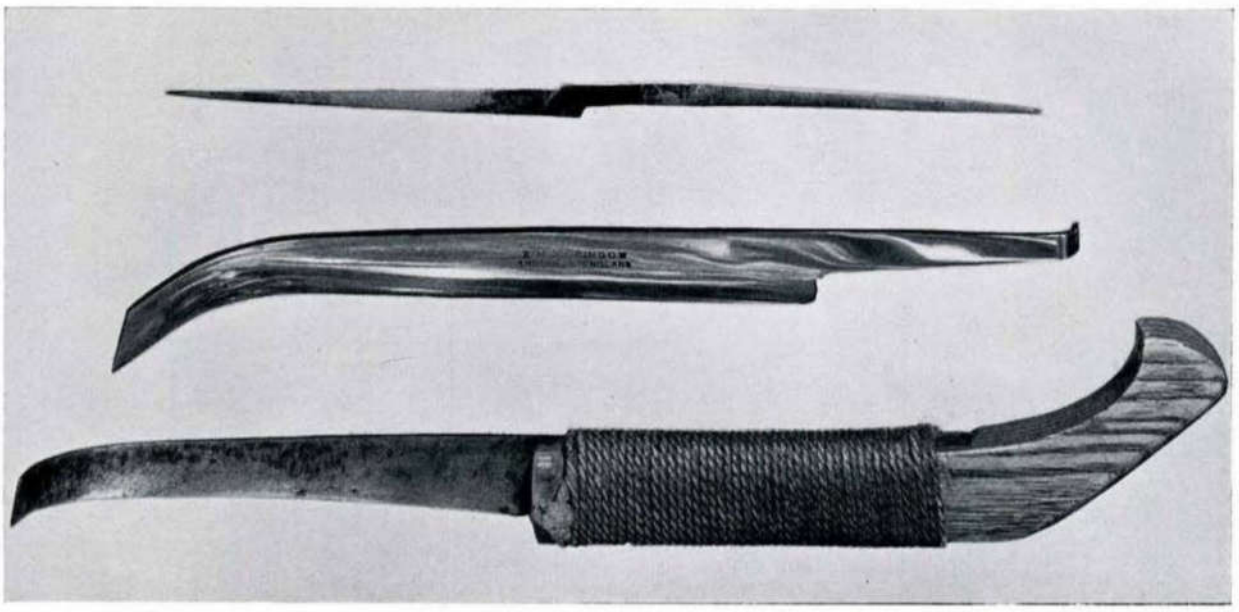
The history of the hatchets and axes is a subject for a large volume because it involves types of these tools and weapons, the half axe, the broad axe, the squaw axe and the almost endless variations of the metal tomahawks.

The story of hawk bells is romance itself. These tinklers have a background all their own but neither the Indians nor the traders who sold the bells knew or cared about it.

To one who will spend the time, any list of trade goods offers a lifetime of interesting research. If you don't believe me, try it.

*Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain, London, 1850, vol. II p. 55.

Top: An awl, of the type sold by the Company for many years. A wooden handle could be easily attached at either end. Centre: A crooked, curved or canoe-knife blade made in Sheffield and still sold by the Company. It is given on the 1748 list as *mocotaugan*—the Cree name for it. Bottom: The crooked knife blade attached to a handle, which the user always makes himself. This specimen, bearing the H B C crest and the word "Fox" was collected at Moose Factory in 1884.



THE RIDDLE of the PAINTINGS

by Margaret Arnett MacLeod

How did Lord Nelson come to be hung at York Factory? That was a mystery which puzzled generations of fur traders.

A VISITOR to the Canadian Committee Office of the Hudson's Bay Company, on entering the mahogany-panelled rotunda of Hudson's Bay House, is escorted through a gold-lettered door into a long hall hung with oil paintings. At the far end he sees a portrait of the first Duke of Marlborough by Kneller, and nearer at hand one by Stephen Pearce of Sir George Simpson, flanked by later oils of two Canadian Committee chairmen, Sir William Whyte and Sir Montagu Allan. Still nearer are two large pictures seven feet high which seem at first to have little to do with the story of the Hudson's Bay Company, for they represent Admiral Lord Nelson and a sea battle of his time. Yet these two paintings have been through a chequered career in the fur trade since the days of the old Nor'westers.

For three quarters of a century, their origin was a mystery. All that was known of them was that for a very long time they had hung at York Factory. The story of their eventual identification covers a period of more than one hundred and thirty years, and only recently has the last chapter in that story been written.

It was a matter of no remark one night at York Factory in the early 1900's when two young clerks, in the age-old way of lads in high spirits, began to scuffle. Above them on the wall, Lord Nelson looked down in benign indifference. But when their exuberance resulted in some slight damage to his lordship, the incident took a different turn. A small rent had been made in the canvas, and the officer in charge evidently had no thought about the picture then, but to lay it away. The admiral thereupon disappeared from the mess room.

In 1910 George Ray, who previously had been stationed at York, returned there to take charge, and immediately he missed Lord Nelson from his accustomed place. Investigating, Mr. Ray found that the picture had suffered from its retirement. With an appreciation of art, and with what facilities the place could afford for such work, he had the painting repaired and cleaned, and Lord Nelson came back to the mess room wall.

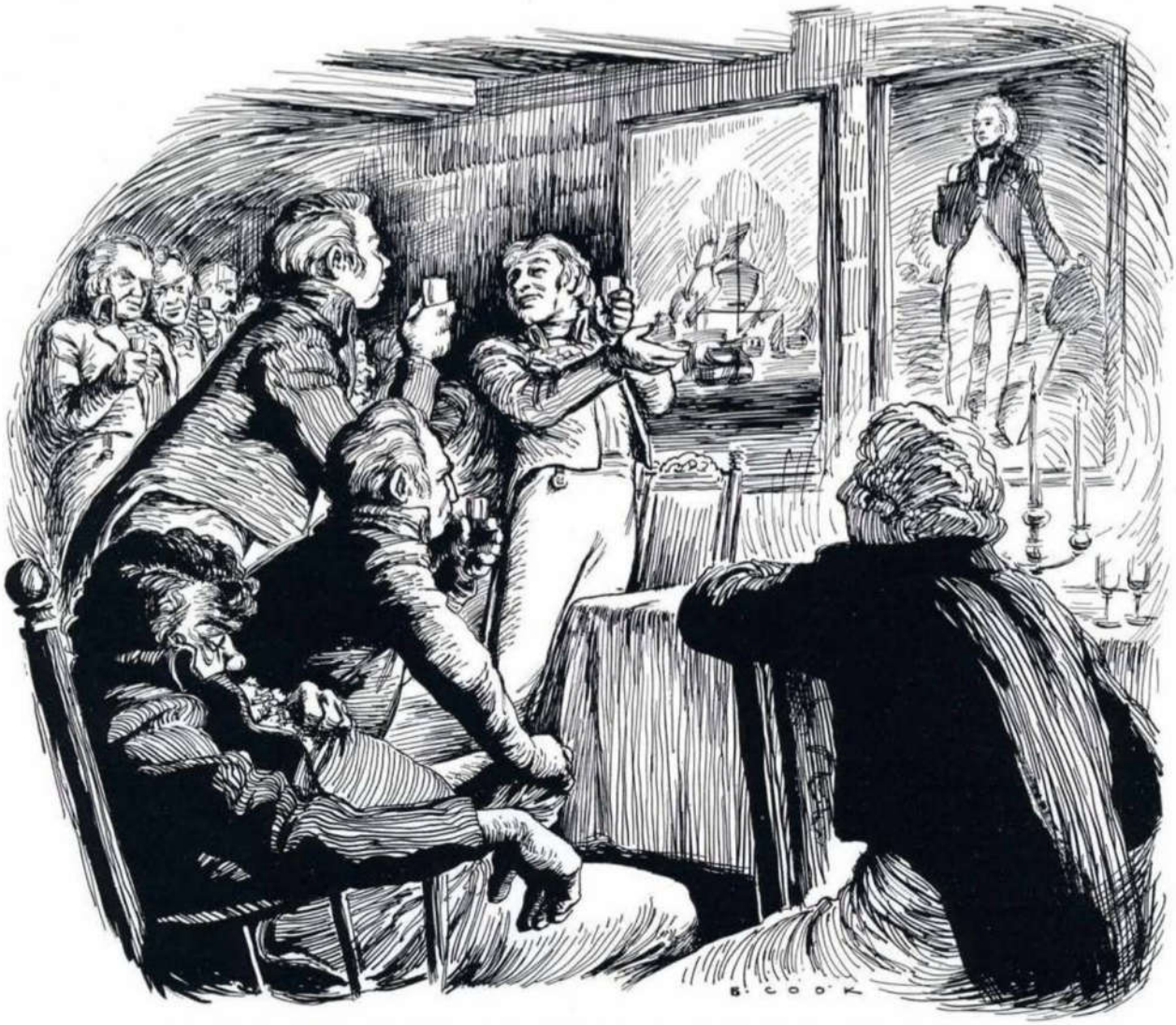
Once more the pictures posed their unanswerable questions. In 1923 Christy Harding, then chief officer at York, decided to give those questions a wider audience. He wrote an article for the *Beaver*, which appeared in its June issue. No connoisseur of art had penetrated York who could adequately appraise the pictures; no one at this time surmised their real age. One school of thought at York was suggesting R. M. Ballantyne as the possible artist, but solely from the facts that he had served there from 1843 to 1845, and that the sketches which illustrated his book, *Hudson's Bay*, were done by him while in Rupert's Land.

Mr. Harding's article was headed "York Factory in the Days of R. M. Ballantyne." After dealing with Ballantyne's sojourn at York related in *Hudson's Bay*, he wrote:

> A stranger coming to York Factory today, on entering the mess room, will be struck with admiration at the two large pictures hung on the walls. These are oil paintings on canvas about five by seven feet. One is the *Battle of Trafalgar* depicting the *Victory* engaged with a large French three-decker, and her flag is struck as the Union Jack flies above the tricolor. The paintings look very old, and have been traced by the brush of a master. I have made enquiries from the oldest inhabitants here, and some remember fifty years back, but they say that these paintings were done long before their time by a young clerk. Is there any old Hudson's Bay officer living who can throw any light on the matter? It would be interesting to know who was the artist, knowing that Mr. Ballantyne was an amateur painter. These subjects would certainly have appealed to him as a young man. The question is: Did he paint these pictures?

No one replied to Mr. Harding. The editor of the *Beaver*, Robert Watson, then procured photographs of the paintings, and reproductions of these headed a

The painting of Nelson in the uniform of the blue was obviously copied from W. Barnard's engraving of L. F. Abbott's portrait.



"When the loyal toasts were called for, one can imagine that Lord Nelson would be saluted."

sketch of Ballantyne's life, entitled "R. M. Ballantyne, Clerk-Author-Artist," in the December issue of the magazine. Mentioning Mr. Harding's article on the paintings and his question as to Ballantyne being the artist, the article referred to the mysterious pictures as "believed to be the work of Ballantyne . . . probably done by the young apprentice-clerk for amusement and practise." Thus, though Ballantyne never worked in oils, and though his sketches done as a lad in Rupert's Land are authoritatively rated as the work of "an amateur" with "enough ability in portraying the things he saw in a strange new world for the wood engraver to work over when he made the cuts for *Hudson's Bay*," he came to be strongly favoured as the painter of the two oils.

The interest of the head office of the Company in Winnipeg was now aroused to the extent that the pictures were brought from York for inspection. On their arrival in Winnipeg in 1928 they were found to be in poor condition, but they excited the same unanswerable questions. Governor Sale, on a visit from England that year, instructed that the paintings be shipped to London for renovation and, if possible, for identification.

The pictures were duly reconditioned there and returned to Winnipeg; but much more than this, the London office had been able to solve the mystery of their origin! They directed attention to a quotation from *Columbia River* by Ross Cox as found in A. S. Morton's then recently published book, *The Journal of Duncan McGillivray*. Cox, writing of his visit to the western headquarters of the North West Company at Fort William in 1816, said:

> The dining hall is a noble apartment and sufficiently capacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors. A full-length likeness of Nelson, together with a splendid painting of the battle of the Nile,* also decorate the walls, and were presented by the Hon. William McGillivray to the Company.

William McGillivray had had these two pictures painted to adorn the walls of Fort William's great dining hall! This was the man after whom the company had named Fort William in 1807, the man who in 1804 had succeeded his uncle Simon McTavish as chief director and who presently became the com-

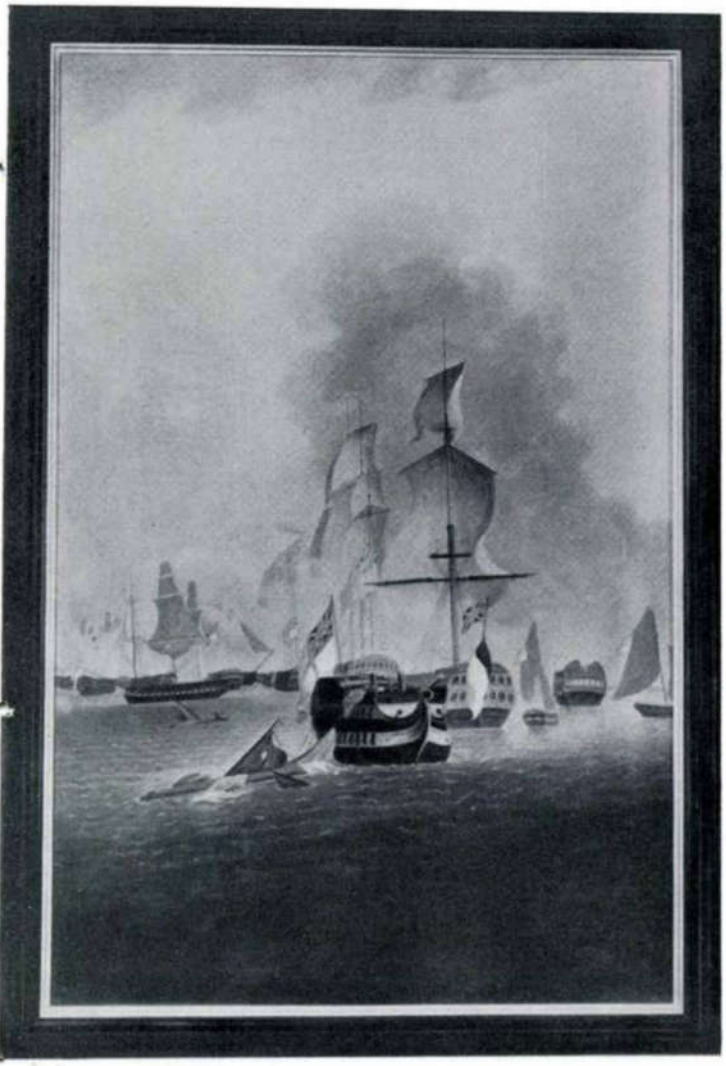
*The Spanish flag on one of the ships and the full Union Jack (not used until 1801) on others show that this actually portrays the Battle of Trafalgar.—Ed.

pany's strongest moving force and arbiter. The subjects of the pictures were timely. Also, McGillivray and his fellow directors in Montreal were most enthusiastic about Nelson. They had been instrumental in having Montreal's Nelson monument on Notre Dame Street erected in 1809 several years before the Nelson monument was put up in Trafalgar Square, London; and in 1806 one of the directors, John Ogilvy, had built a little stone lookout (still standing) on the brow of Westmount Mountain, which he named Nelson's Cabin.

The paintings, probably transported unframed from Montreal to Fort William, were hung in the great dining hall among the other furnishings, such as the bust of Simon McTavish, David Thompson's huge map of the Indian countries on an end wall, pictures of proprietors, Indian trappings, and trophies of the fur trade.

Ross Cox, coming from the privations of wilderness travel to a sumptuous breakfast of "coffee, fresh eggs, excellent hot cakes, and prime cold venison" partaken of beneath the pictures of Nelson and the Battle of Trafalgar, even in his extreme hunger and with appetizing odours rising from the abundant table before him, had noted the fine paintings.

Ross Cox in 1816 called this painting "The Battle of the Nile." But the full Union Jack and a Spanish flag on the ship at extreme left show it depicts the Battle of Trafalgar.



This setting of the pictures, this "noble apartment," and the feastings there each summer have invited some fanciful imagining. Some authors have described the scenes as wild revellings and mad carousals. However true this may be, wintering partners with fur-laden canoes did arrive there from their frugal life at far posts to celebrate the close of the year's business, while grandees of the Company came from Montreal accompanied by "cooks and bakers with delicacies of every kind and abundance of choice wines for the banquets." William McGillivray himself was there on occasion. And when, at these feasts, the loyal toasts to King and country were called for, one can imagine that the famous hero, Lord Nelson, would be included and that his portrait, with a depiction of his great battle hanging nearby, would be royally saluted.

The mystery surrounding the pictures was practically cleared up when the London office returned the pictures to Winnipeg in 1929. Interest in them was now much enhanced, and in 1930 a spacious setting was found for them in the Company's new retail store. In 1938 they were moved to H B House.

However, there were a few questions still unanswered. The pictures had been executed at least three decades before Ballantyne's residence at York, and far from that isolated post on Hudson Bay. How then had they come to be at York? And when did they come there? The answers to these questions have now come to light in the Hargrave* and McTavish papers rescued from oblivion in an Edinburgh solicitor's vault. The story they unfold begins with an even more fascinating tale, that of a flight—a flight from a woman!

John George McTavish, an officer fast rising to prominence in the North West Company, was in charge of Fort William at the time of that company's union with the Hudson's Bay Company. He was then posted to fill the same position at the new company's headquarters, York Factory. It therefore devolved upon him to close out the North West Company's concerns at Fort William, and he reported that summer that he was very busy in doing so. He did not record the fate of other pictures at Fort William, nor did he say what disposal was made of the bust of Simon McTavish, but he did have William McGillivray's gift, the two large paintings, packed in a wooden case which he took with him to York.

McTavish was soon settled in his new environment with his "wife of the country," Nancy McKenzie, and his children. Then, probably under the pressure of organizing the business of the new company, he forgot the pictures entirely. He seems not even to have mentioned them to anyone. They lay as they came, in their packing case, stored away for many a day. They might have continued so, and thus have gone into complete oblivion, had McTavish remained at York.

McTavish had been secretary for a time to George Simpson, governor of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, and he was Simpson's best friend in the country. In 1829 these two men, each of whom had a "country" wife, decided to visit Britain, to find wives there and to make a trial of bringing gently reared women to live in Rupert's Land. Simpson, in the accepted procedure with regard to country wives, undertook to arrange new alliances for the women whom they were leaving. This proved in both cases to be even more difficult than was anticipated.

*Used here through the courtesy of the Champlain Society.

A. S. Morton has quoted a reference to Nancy McKenzie as McTavish's "old lady," but Nancy was young and, in addition, difficult. In fact she seems to have led McTavish rather a hectic life. She was a niece of Donald McKenzie, governor of Assiniboia, at Fort Garry, and Nancy would not easily be dislodged from the position she was enjoying, that of reigning lady at the Company's North American headquarters.

McTavish's plans, therefore, as formulated and carried out, were drastic. Ostensibly, he was going to Britain on furlough. He knew he was leaving York forever. He was doing an almost unbelievable thing, not according to Company usage, to terminate an unhappy "country" alliance. He was running away. As he got into the launch that autumn day in 1829 to take ship for England, he left behind all his possessions and numerous unfinished matters about which he alone knew, matters much more important than that of the two oil paintings lying crated and forgotten in a warehouse.

No one at York suspected the real situation, not even his best friend there, James Hargrave. As the launch was ready to leave, Nancy was standing on the bank near the landing, "half distressed and half sulky," with Anne (a daughter of McTavish's by a former alliance) and her own children. McTavish was planning to take Anne with him, and as the boat began to move, "Hargrave [as arranged] lifted Miss Anne into the boat, and off they rowed."

Hargrave then, in letters to McTavish, carried on the story which led to a move for the paintings lying in the warehouse. The following spring he reported Nancy's house as being "all washed and scrubbed" in readiness for McTavish's return, and said jocularly that he visited her "every evening to hear the little madroulikins their prayers," and again, "Madame and the little madroulikins . . . are paying all spring a visit to the river side to see when the road shall open for you."

Then the blow fell. McTavish had married in Scotland and was not coming back to York. Simpson had posted him to Moose Factory, headquarters of the Southern Department. That summer Hargrave wrote to Nancy's uncle, Governor Donald McKenzie, "The poor girl here bears up wonderfully and is fast acquiring resignation." Nancy had a bad temper, and he went on, "The first blow was dreadful to witness. All your friends here have used their best endeavours at consolation." Just as sincerely, he wrote later to McTavish saying he "rejoiced at the change . . . which would afford him a quiet life" instead of the "moiling years" he had known at York; and again later, that none was "better fitted to enjoy domestic happiness and to which he had been a stranger" than McTavish. To this, voicing his gratitude for Simpson's arrangement of his domestic affairs, McTavish replied happily, "I owe it all to Geordy."

Hargrave then had to straighten out all other personal affairs McTavish had left in mid air, as well as business matters. Some of McTavish's property, such as household goods, china, etc., were disposed of at York or left to Nancy, but books, clothing and other personal effects, and a portrait of Simon McTavish which hung in McTavish's room, Hargrave shipped to him at Moose (via England!) under Governor Simpson's instructions. Writing to McTavish later in 1830, after mentioning such matters, Hargrave said: "There is also a long Case remaining in the Biscuit Room over the Provision shed which I think you brought from Fort William." Thus having this case recalled to his mind, McTavish replied, "The long Case in the Store contains a portrait of Lord Nelson which you'll please hand over to Mr. Christie."

Alexander Christie was then in charge of York, but for some unknown reason, in spite of the above instructions, the pictures remained in their packing case even after Christie left there in 1833, and Hargrave was still corresponding with McTavish about his affairs at York. He wrote:

> I have this season got packed up and forwarded to you by the downward canoes to Michipicoten the three maps I found in the Box here with the paintings. These latter still remain here, that is, an oil full figure of Lord Nelson, and a sea piece also in oil. They lie in the Box as before: we are ignorant of their owner but I think they might ornament our Mess Room as well as sleeping in a Case where they are more likely to meet with accident.

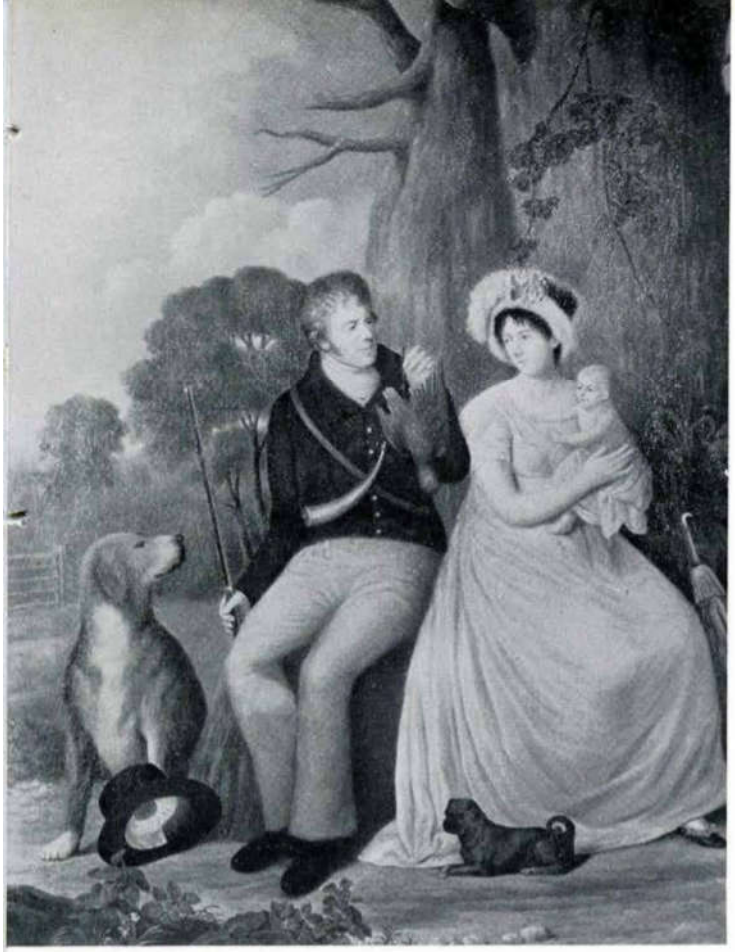
At last the pictures were unpacked, a step toward being hung. Nevertheless they were still left in their box. McTavish either did not answer the above, or if he did Hargrave forgot the fact in the trying times which then came to York. For a year and a half the pictures lay unmentioned while serious illness and deaths disrupted business. York was merely able to carry on with a skeleton staff undermined by what was called the "York Disease," probably a nutritional disorder. Hargrave himself was very ill for a long period.

In 1834 Hargrave took charge of York, and as part of his efficient management he attempted to finish up the matter of the paintings, this time in a letter to Governor Simpson. He added a postscript to a letter saying, "By the way we have a couple of large oil paintings here brought by Mr. McTavish from Fort William and left by him on his departure. I think I have heard it said that they belonged to the Wintering partners of the old North West Company. Could these be hung up in our Summer Mess Room?"

It does not appear just when the pictures were hung in the summer mess at York as Hargrave suggested, but they were put there shortly after this time. Thus, after lying for at least fifteen years in obscurity, they came back into the life of the fur trade. They had known a lavish and flourishing era at Fort William, now they witnessed prosperity again as they became part of York in its prime.

As the chief centre of commerce in the country, York was built on a fitting scale. Nearly all the buildings were new since J. G. McTavish had left there. The fur depot (which still stands) was the largest building in Rupert's Land, and the large summer mess house which was next the depot accommodated about fifty persons. The portrait of Lord Nelson was placed on the mess wall opposite the door, and the Battle of Trafalgar faced it. Nelson must have been impressive in this position, the first sight on entering the room. Once more the paintings became familiar to many who had known them at Fort William. Once more convivial companies of gentlemen, with hovering servants, dined ceremoniously beneath them.

Dr. J. S. Helmcken described York mess in 1846, with Hargrave at the head of the long table, "descanting upon the beauties and benefits of white fish." The gentlemen, placed as fort etiquette prescribed, were ranged about the table seated in cane-bottomed chairs with a whole duck at a serving placed before



Dulongpre's painting of William McGillivray, donor of the paintings, and his family. It is probable that this Montreal artist also painted the two oils now in Hudson's Bay House. *McCord Museum.*

each and shortly replaced by another. A cranberry tart "about two feet long and 8 inches or so broad" then appeared, followed by Madeira.

Lord Nelson looked down from the wall. He was still the British hero, and no doubt on ceremonious occasions as the drinking progressed he was many a time toasted in that room just as he must have been by the jovial gentlemen celebrating at Fort William.

Letitia Hargrave, wife of James Hargrave, related an incident in which the portrait of Lord Nelson figured. In the summer of 1848 York was crowded and the gentlemen's mess was much augmented by visitors to meet three ships instead of one as usual. Two additional ships had been chartered. Captains of the Company's ships were gentlemen and acceptable at York, but those of the "hired" ships were not always above remark. It is not clear if the ship captain Letitia Hargrave mentions is the same of whom her husband related that when he came on shore he was "so drunk he was unable to speak," but she wrote to her sister in Scotland, "Both the Captns were horrors, expecially a Captn Webster of the *Lady Fitz Herbert* who opened the mess room door (when he came on shore) when all the gentlemen were at dinner and, making a polite bow, fixed his eyes on a full length portrait of Lord Nelson and said to the company in general, 'I hopes you're wall.' "

There is no further mention of the paintings in this period. They seem to have excited little interest at York Factory until after the decline of that post when the commerce of Rupert's Land had begun to stream over the rivers and plains of Minnesota Territory instead of by yearly ship between England and York. The hordes of summer visitors from posts as far as the Pacific ocean and the Arctic, which formerly had thronged York each year to await the ship, came no more; the back-breaking portages and shallow streams leading from Norway House were almost deserted. The tempo of the place changed. Officers of the post and the occasional visitor now had more leisure in which to contemplate their surroundings. In the diminished establishment the officers' mess was held in the dining room of the chief officer's residence, and the two large paintings which hung there and dominated it, whose history no one knew, came in for some notice. Those who had known them formerly were by then long gone from the scene. And for seventy years their origin remained a mystery.

Part of that mystery has not yet been cleared up —that of the identity of artist. The pictures are unsigned. Their period can safely be estimated as being between 1807, the year Fort William was named after McGillivray, and 1816 when Cox saw them. Their date would more likely be nearer to 1807 than to 1816. McGillivray had had other paintings done for him previous to 1807 and after his marriage in 1800. One of these shows him with his family; his wife and a daughter in her early years, no doubt their first child. A second painting is a head and shoulders of McGillivray. Both paintings now owned by the McCord Museum, McGill University, are the work of the artist, Dulongpré, of Montreal.

It would therefore be a likely thing for McGillivray, when planning the gift of the two paintings to his Company for the great dining hall at Fort William, to have commissioned the same artist to paint them.

McGillivray evidently chose the portrait of Lord Nelson in the uniform of the blue, painted by L. F. Abbott, and engraved by W. Barnard in 1798, for the artist to copy. The figures are almost identical, but McGillivray's artist has made slight differences in the background. Studying the work on the figure of Nelson and on those of McGillivray and his family, there is some similarity in technique. This is especially so of the hands, that part of the human anatomy which calls for the greatest skill to portray. Miss M. J. Baker, an accomplished English portrait painter, points out that the treatment of the hands in relation to the face and the soft brush work are similar in both. There is also a detail which might help to place these paintings as Dulongpré's work. In his copy of the portrait of Lord Nelson the artist has introduced, in the right foreground, some delicate foliage which does not appear in the original; and this same type of delicate foliage appears in the portrait of the McGillivray family.

Viewing these two pictures today, one cannot but see them, apart from their subject interest and intrinsic value, as part of the continuing fur trade. They have travelled along in that trade for nearly one hundred and forty years. They have witnessed its mutable fortunes; its splendour in the spacious years, its poverty in the lean ones; the amazing wealth, the privations, as men tamed a wilderness. They have journeyed in the great canoes and over the laborious portages along the country's network of waters. Their fortunes have fluctuated with the fur trade, at times acclaimed, at times forgotten or a mystery, until now they speak to the onlooker with true values as works of art and as part of the story of the North.

McCONNELL'S LONG TREK

by Douglas Leechman

R. G. McConnell, of the Geological Survey, made a remarkable journey in 1887-8, which added greatly to our knowledge of the Northwest.

"WE worked our way by sheer muscle, carrying both boat and stuff through forests and over high hills. My men turned out well and worked without a grumble. As for myself, I have hardly a stitch of clothes left, as they were torn to pieces and left hanging on the brambles and roots along the many portages."

Those are the words of a man not given to exaggeration, one who spent thirty-three summers in the exploration of the Canadian Northwest—R. G. McConnell, of the Geological Survey of Canada. He wrote them on July 27, 1887, after his descent of the Liard River.

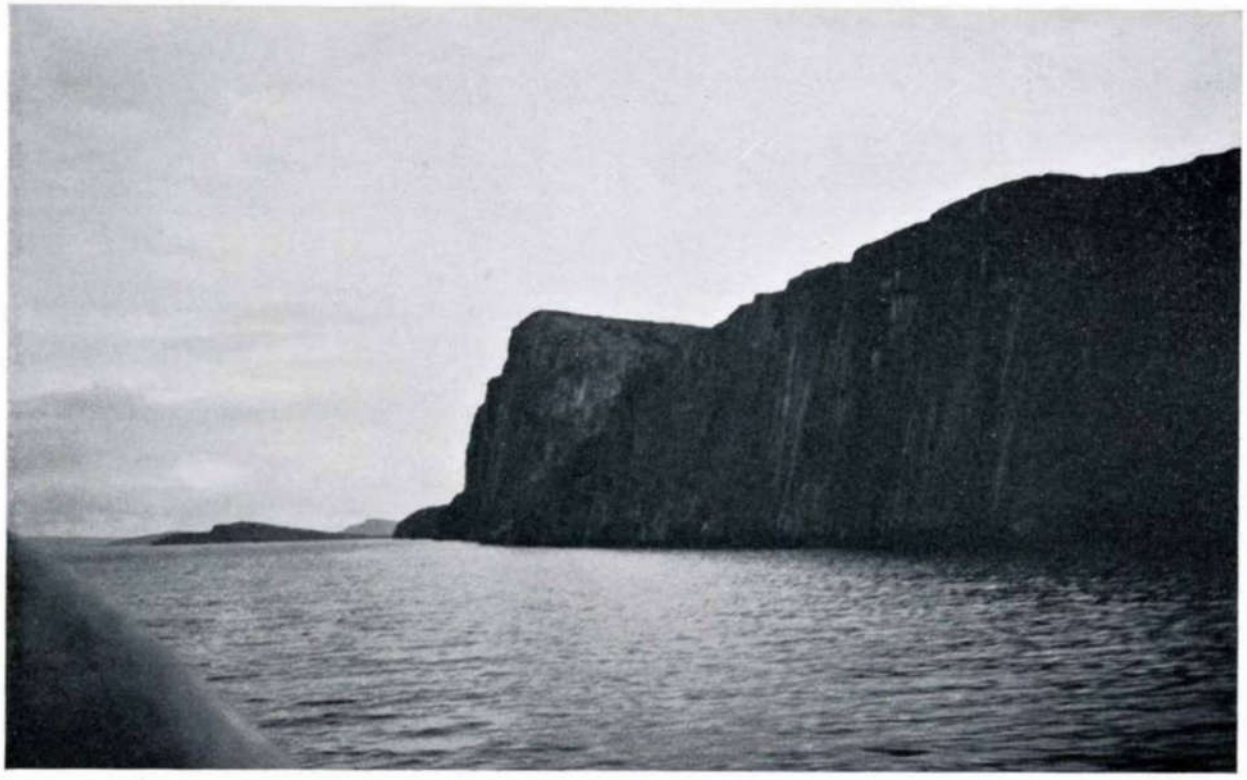
Every summer since its foundation in 1842, the Geological Survey has sent out field parties, sometimes only a few, sometimes as many as a hundred. Trained geologists, assisted by students, go out into the length and breadth of Canada, mapping, collecting, observing, recording, taking photographs. Their job is to get the information, as completely and accurately as possible, and bring it safely back to headquarters in Ottawa.

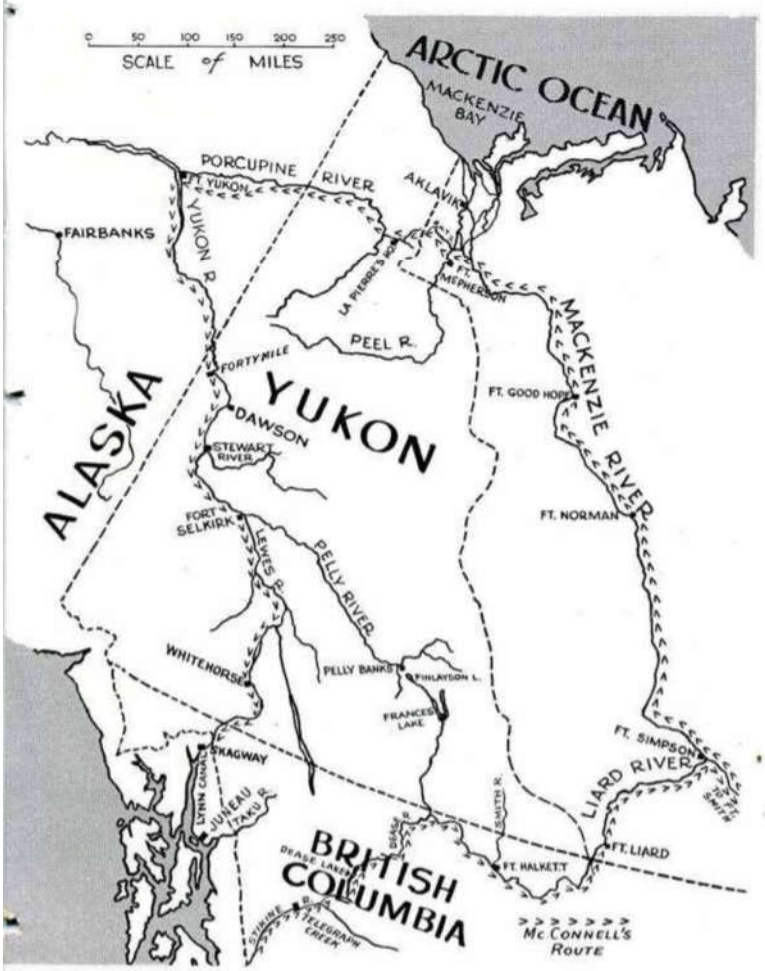
Many long and dangerous journeys have been made by officers of the survey and the records of them lie in thousands of little field note-books bound in bright red leather. They are kept safely on file for reference, for they contain the data on which our knowledge of the geology of Canada is based. Few of them, however, contain a story of a journey as long and as dangerous as that made by McConnell in 1887. Four thousand miles he travelled in the far northwest, a thousand of them on foot, and most of the way through unknown or little known country.

It was the spring of that year when he set out from Ottawa with Dr. George M. Dawson. They reached the Pacific coast in May on their way to the Yukon, a country neither of them had visited before, but from which rumours of important gold discoveries had already been heard. They went up the Stikine River as far as Telegraph Creek, the head of navigation, and then followed the trail over the divide to Dease Lake. Here they built boats from trees cut on the spot and travelled in them down the Dease to its junction with the Liard.

At this point the two leaders separated, Dawson to go directly to the Yukon by way of Frances Lake to continue his survey, and McConnell to explore the Liard down to its confluence with the Mackenzie. His account of his almost incredible journey is to be found in the fourth annual report of the Geological Survey of Canada. For the most part, I shall let him tell his own tale.

Sheer cliffs along the Liard. *J. W. Mills.*





McConnell's route of 1887-8 is shown here—except for his side trips to Fort Smith, Fort Rae, and so on.

"We left the mouth of Dease River on the 26th of June," he says, "in a small wooden boat which was built by ourselves on Dease Lake. The party consisted besides myself of two white men, Louis Trépanier and John McLeod. Besides these, I also engaged a couple of Indians, but they deserted at the first difficulty that presented itself."

For nearly a hundred miles they found the stream to be a succession of rapids, whirlpools and swift water confined between the walls of narrow canyons, and in many places it was necessary to carry their boat and all their equipment through the bush and over the hills beside the river, for the shore was impassable.

Soon they reached Portage Brulé. "It was at the lower end of this portage," he notes, "in the year 1836, that a party of Hudson's Bay voyageurs, bound on a trading expedition to the Stikine, after carrying their packs up the hill, were seized with a panic caused by the supposed approach of a band of hostile Indians, and, abandoning their outfit, fled for safety down the river. In the succeeding year Mr. Robert Campbell found the goods in the same position in which they had been left." (See the June 1942 *Beaver*, p. 4.)

Then came the site of Fort Halkett, abandoned in the 1870's, and they could find no trace of it. Next they came to the Devil's Portage, which he described as "very difficult." So difficult was it, in fact, that he decided it was quite beyond reason to attempt to carry their heavy and clumsy boat four miles through the forest and over a hill a thousand feet high, even though they had slashed a way for it through the bush. It was therefore abandoned "somewhat reluctantly."

"To meet such an emergency," he goes on, "I had provided myself before leaving Ottawa with a roll of stout canvas sewn up in the shape of a boat, and this we at once proceeded to put into shape. It was stretched on a stout plank hewn out of a small pine tree. Spruce poles, to which the canvas was firmly sewn, were used as gunwales, and willow withes for ribs, while slips to lay between the ribs and the canvas were easily cut. We painted the canvas with half a gallon of oil, which had been brought for the purpose, but this did not prevent it from leaking badly, and we were obliged to give it a second coat, made up of everything oleaginous which we still possessed. This mixture consisted of sperm candles, gun oil and bacon grease, stirred up with spruce gum, and proved effective in keeping out the water."

When they reached the Beaver, a tributary of the Liard, they met the first people they had seen since they started, a group of Indians from Fort Liard who were out hunting. McConnell tried to buy some meat from them, "but found they were totally unacquainted with the use of money, and as we were not supplied with trading goods, or, in fact, with anything except what we wore, it was impossible to strike a bargain."

A little east of the Beaver, they met a crew of Hudson's Bay Company voyageurs in charge of W. Lépine, who was so discouraged by the difficulties of the river that he was on the point of turning back instead of going on to the mouth of the Dease. Learning that there was a shortage of supplies in the Mackenzie River district, McConnell sent his two men back with Lépine, whom he had persuaded to continue his journey.

McConnell now "continued down the river to Fort Liard in the canvas boat, at first in company with an Indian, but for the greater part of the distance entirely alone." It was a hazardous journey. The dangers of navigation on the Liard were well known to the Hudson's Bay voyageurs who travelled by that route. "You can hardly conceive the intense horror the men have to go up to Frances Lake," Chief Factor James Anderson had written in 1853. "They invariably on re-hiring endeavour to be exempted from the West Branch [Liard]. The number of deaths which have occurred there is fourteen."

McConnell, however, reached Fort Liard in safety; but he was delayed there for several days before he could persuade anybody to accompany him further. "Having at last succeeded, and also having exchanged my canvas boat for a bark canoe, I resumed my journey."

A few days later he reached Fort Simpson, and here he embarked on the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Wrigley*, which carried him as far as Fort Smith. On the way he was able to make arrangements, "subject to the approval of Mr. Camsell" (Chief Factor J. S. Camsell, the father of Dr. Charles Camsell, recently Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources) to spend the winter at Fort Providence, and he was "thus left at liberty to continue work as long as the season permitted."

Summit Lake, on the height of land between the Rat and Little Bell Rivers. *W. R. Bendy.*

Actually, his instructions from Dr. Dawson would have allowed him to return to Ottawa, content with a good job well done, for he had kept precise account of all the twists and turns of the Liard and had recorded the geology of the banks as his detailed note-books show.

During the following winter he made several trips from Fort Providence, his headquarters. In company with Mr. Camsell and others, he visited Fort Rae on Great Slave Lake; he travelled southwest to Lake Bis-tsho (Big Knife); he ascended the Hay River, and visited the saline deposits on Salt River, all in a sub-arctic winter.

His visit to Lake Bis-tsho was made in January and his notes were "necessarily of a somewhat rough character, as the shortness of the days forced us to do most of our travelling at night, and besides jogging behind dogs at the rate of five miles an hour, with the temperature at forty or more degrees below zero, is not favorable to an accurate estimate."

He explains that it was usual to start at about three in the morning and to travel till noon, as the two hours of daylight remaining are necessary to "prepare camp and cut wood for the night and morning." He adds that "no tents are ever carried in winter, and the outfit taken along is limited strictly to absolute necessaries, even articles for washing being dispensed with by those who are desirous of being styled 'men of the north.'" This need for avoiding all unnecessary weight forbade the use of a camera and, as a result, we have only an occasional sketch of a range of hills in his note-books by way of illustration.

While at Fort Simpson, waiting for the ice to go out, Mr. Camsell ordered a boat made for him. Soon, signs of spring were observed and, on May 5, 1888, the first goose was shot, "the successful marksman receiving, according to immemorial custom at the Hudson's Bay establishments, a present of a pound each of the two luxuries of the country, tea and tobacco."

On the 28th, accompanied by two Indians, he left Fort Simpson, bound for Fort McPherson, near the mouth of the Mackenzie. They passed the *bocannes*, burning seams of lignite; they collected at the end of their paddles samples of edible clay previously mentioned by Richardson; they swept on down stream past the present Norman Wells without comment, except to note the frequent occurrence of bituminous shales along the banks and to predict that here would be a large oil field some day.

It was the 17th of June before McConnell reached Fort Good Hope, and here he added a third Indian to his crew, one who could talk Eskimo in case he should fall in with some of these people. He now had a Hare Indian from Fort Good Hope, a Slave Indian from Fort Simpson, and the Loucheux, just engaged, from Arctic Red River. There were difficulties in language. "I had first to speak to the Fort Simpson Indian, who spoke a little English, and he passed it on with some difficulty to the Good Hope Indian, who in turn interpreted it in more or less changed form to the Loucheux, and the answer was then returned in the same cumbrous manner."

Sure enough, they did meet some Eskimos who were on their way to trade their furs at Fort McPherson. McConnell had been warned that they might prove troublesome, but, beyond asking for tobacco, they were quiet enough. His description of them makes one realize that they were not the pleasant people we know today. They were dressed in sealskins. "Labrets are still worn in the cheeks, and long, broad-bladed knives of their own manufacture carried on all occasions naked in the hands. Bows and arrows are still their principal weapons."

As he approached Fort McPherson, on Peel River, McConnell met a fellow officer of the Survey, William Ogilvie, who had followed the Porcupine River from its headwaters to the point where the Bell River joins it near McDougall's Pass. The two travellers decided to celebrate the next day as a holiday, then they separated again, and each continued on his way.

It had been McConnell's intention to wait at Fort McPherson for a steamer which would carry him back up the Mackenzie and "outside" to civilization, but idle waiting was something that he could never take easily. He decided to explore the Rat River.

Tired of waiting for a steamer which, he felt, might never come, he determined to follow the portage route to Lapierre's House and descend the Porcupine River to its junction with the Yukon. From here he could easily drift down to St. Michael's and go by sea from there to San Francisco or Victoria.

Knowing no boats were available on the west side of the divide, he hired Indians to carry his boat over by way of McDougall's Pass, but he himself followed the longer trail, about sixty miles.

"The walking," he admits, "is exceedingly difficult, as the surface is covered with the rounded grassy sods which go in the country by the name of *Têtes de femmes* [*Beaver*, Sept. 1948, p. 2]. These project a foot or more above the clayey soil, and are the cause of

constant stumbling which becomes somewhat exasperating when one is weighted down with a pack."

Once over the divide, they had to cross and recross the Bell River on foot, not always a safe proceeding, but they knew how to manage it. The party would "line up behind a long pole, and keeping a firm hold of it advance into the stream abreast. In this case, the person above sustains the full brunt of the current, but is held up by those below, and a stumbler receives the support of those who have kept their footing."

At Lapierre's House he found his boat waiting for him and, by great good luck, an Orkneyman named Skee, an ex-employee of the Hudson's Bay Company who was on his way out of the country. The three Indians had decided to go no further. Skee agreed to accompany McConnell on his way down the Porcupine.

Now, at last, his troubles seemed almost over, for the river flows easily along, past the present village of Old Crow, then non-existent, and through the Ramparts, which he describes in glowing terms. At Rampart House, just below the present international boundary, he had been able to get supplies and had been told that a steamer was to be at Fort Yukon in a few days, so he determined to try to catch it. Here he added Trader John, a Loucheux Indian, to his crew. Despite constant head winds, they reached Fort Yukon in three days, only to discover that the steamer had come and gone the day before.

There were now two courses open to him. He could drift down the Yukon to its mouth, an easy trip; or he could go up the Yukon to the head of navigation and out by the Chilkoot Pass, which meant nine hundred miles of upstream fighting, with a "short, square-sterned boat" quite unsuited to any such undertaking. He admits that the easier trip did appeal strongly to him, "the temptation to adopt it was almost irresistable," but he reflected that the whole course would be outside Canadian territory and therefore decided against it. What's more, he persuaded Skee and Trader John to go with him!

Fort Yukon, once the best built fort in the North, he describes as no longer extant, with the exception of one outbuilding. The rest had been torn down to provide fuel for the steamers plying the river.

The current of the Yukon here flows at about five or six miles an hour, and they found their boat almost impossible to manage. "To advance we were obliged to combine the use of an oar on the outside, a pole on the inside, while I steered and paddled behind. Even this complicated method of propulsion became impossible, and progression in some places was only attained by clinging to the overhanging branches and pulling ourselves up foot by foot." And he had several hundreds of miles to go.

At Forty-Mile Creek, he paused long enough to build a new boat, a "narrow, sharp-ended boat," he explains. How often he must have planned her lines in his imagination during the tedious days when he was forcing his clumsy craft up against the swift current!

Then on again. Trader John had gone home, after working willingly and capably, and a miner named Buckley took his place. Up the river they went, ever nearer the headwaters till at last, on September 15, they reached the Chilkoot Pass. Then down hill to Juneau, out by boat to Victoria, and back at long last to Ottawa.

It was an astounding trip, and one which added immensely to our geographical and geological knowledge of a country many parts of which, even today, are but little better known than when he visited it.

McConnell died in Ottawa on April 1, 1942, at the age of eighty-five. Even in bed in the hospital, he was cursing the incompetence of the doctors who could not heal his broken leg, and making eager plans to go on a prospecting trip with his son in Africa as soon as he was well again. At his own request, his body was cremated and his ashes were carried high up in an aeroplane and scattered over the spruce-covered hills he knew and loved so well.

Fort Yukon as it appeared to W. H. Dall in 1867. Note the fur press on the left.

TRAPLINE to TRADING POST

A FUR TRADE PICTURE STORY

by Richard Harrington

A sequence of pictures taken near Caribou post in northern Manitoba, following the trapper on his rounds, and showing the subsequent steps the raw furs go through until they are baled up at the post.

Carrying a bunch of assorted traps over his shoulder, a Chipewyan hunter sets out from his cabin near Caribou post.

With a jingle of dog bells, he drives away through snow laden trees to his trapline.

First he sets a trap for fox.

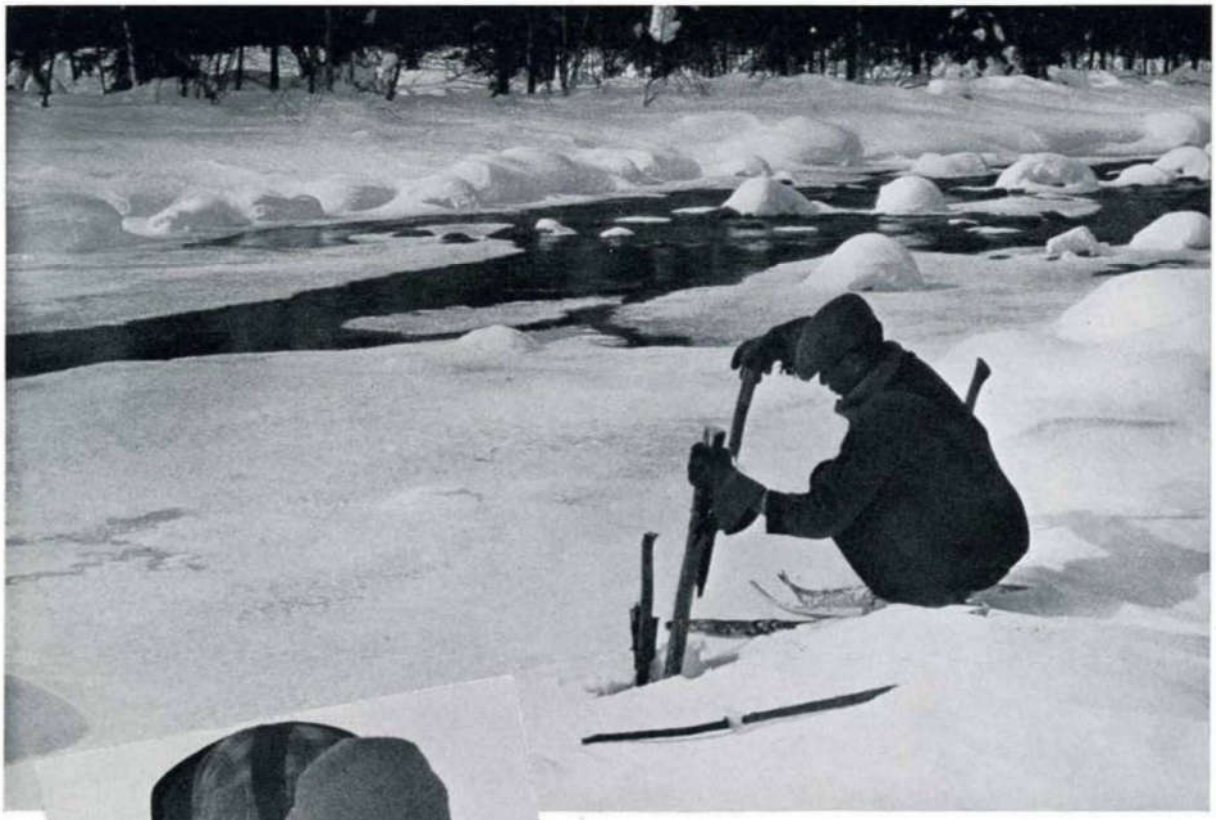
Next, an old-style deadfall trap for mink.

On the shores of a lake, he puts up his first camp, while the dogs snooze in the traces.

With the tent and stove up, he unharnesses the dogs, and beds each one down separately on its little mat of spruce boughs. Then he feeds them.

In the morning he crosses Duck Lake into the teeth of a bitter north wind.

On the shore of the lake he stops to set a trap for mink, baiting it with a fish head.

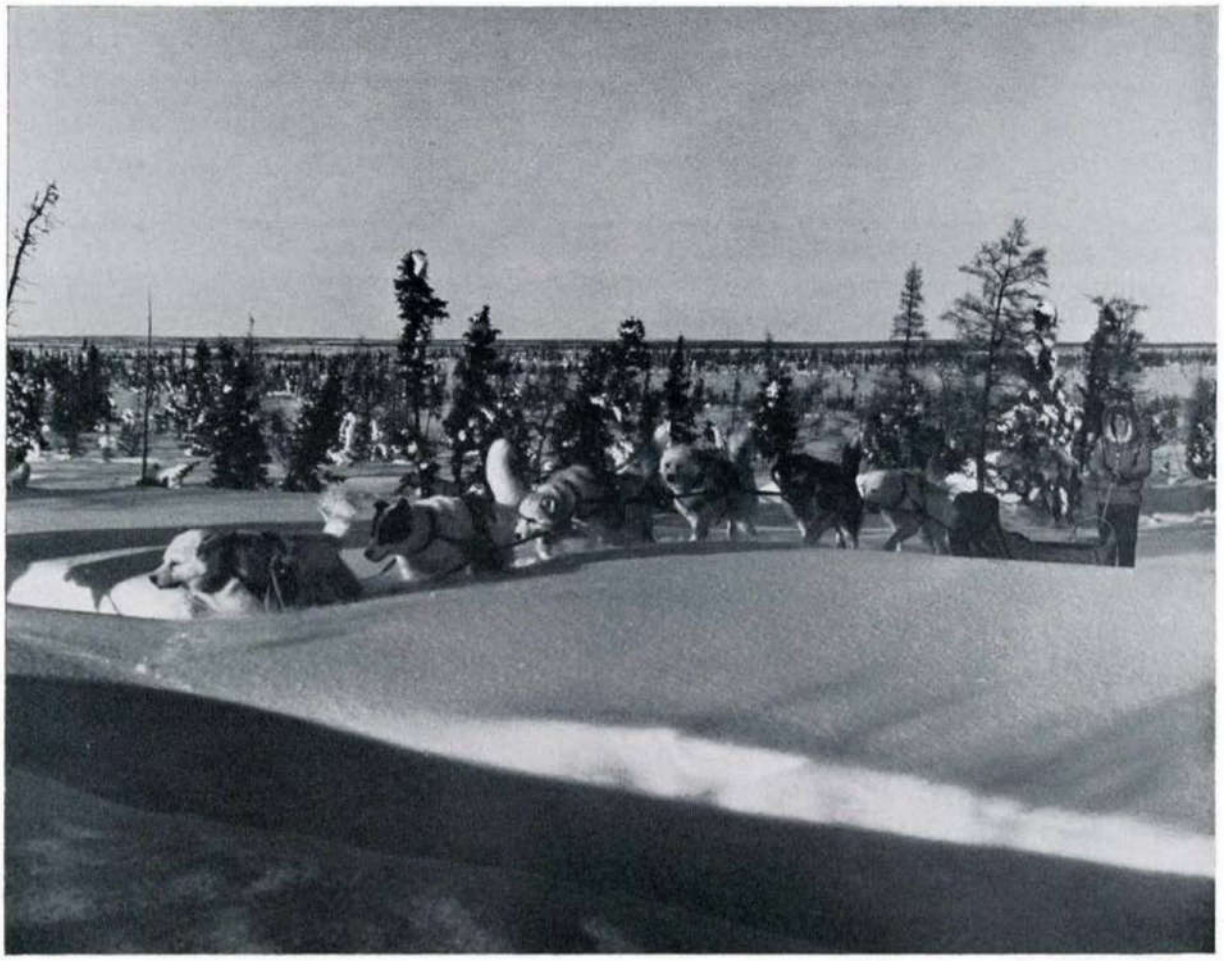


Out of the wind, beside a running stream, he resets an otter trap.

Another trap is set on a pole and pushed beneath the ice.

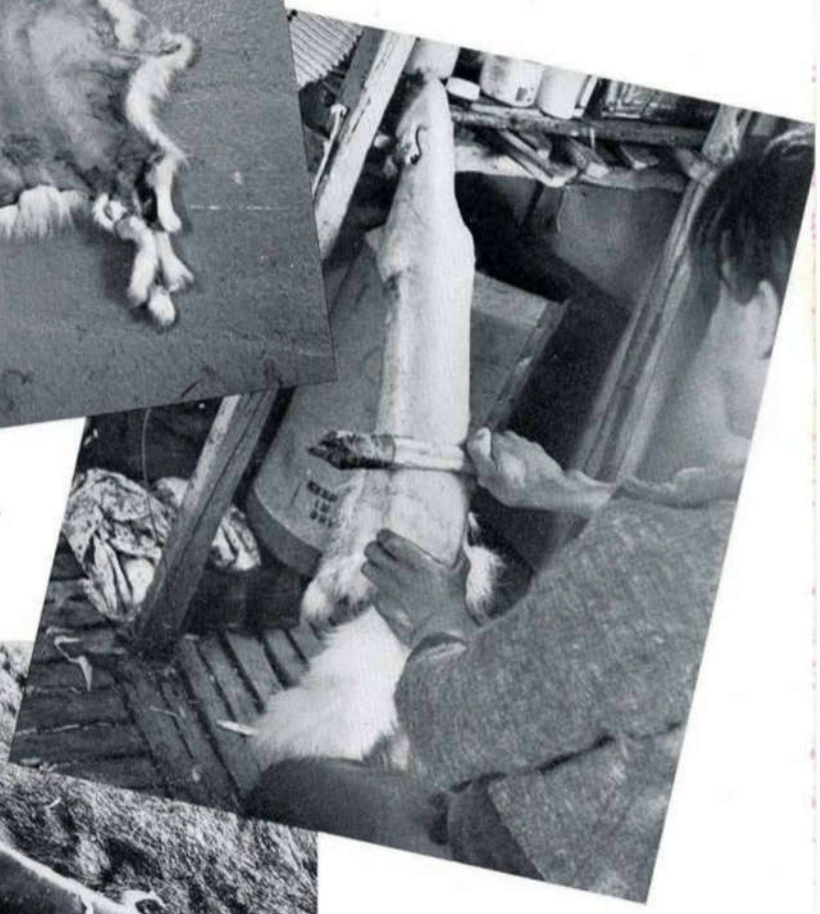
Comfortably settled on a mat of spruce boughs, he waits for an otter to show its head above water.

As the shadows lengthen, he drives back to camp through the "little sticks."



At home near the post, other trappers prepare their pelts for sale.

Chief Denard nails a wolf skin on the wall of his cabin.



Scraping a white fox skin with a "beaming tool," the type used for centuries, made from a caribou's foreleg bone.

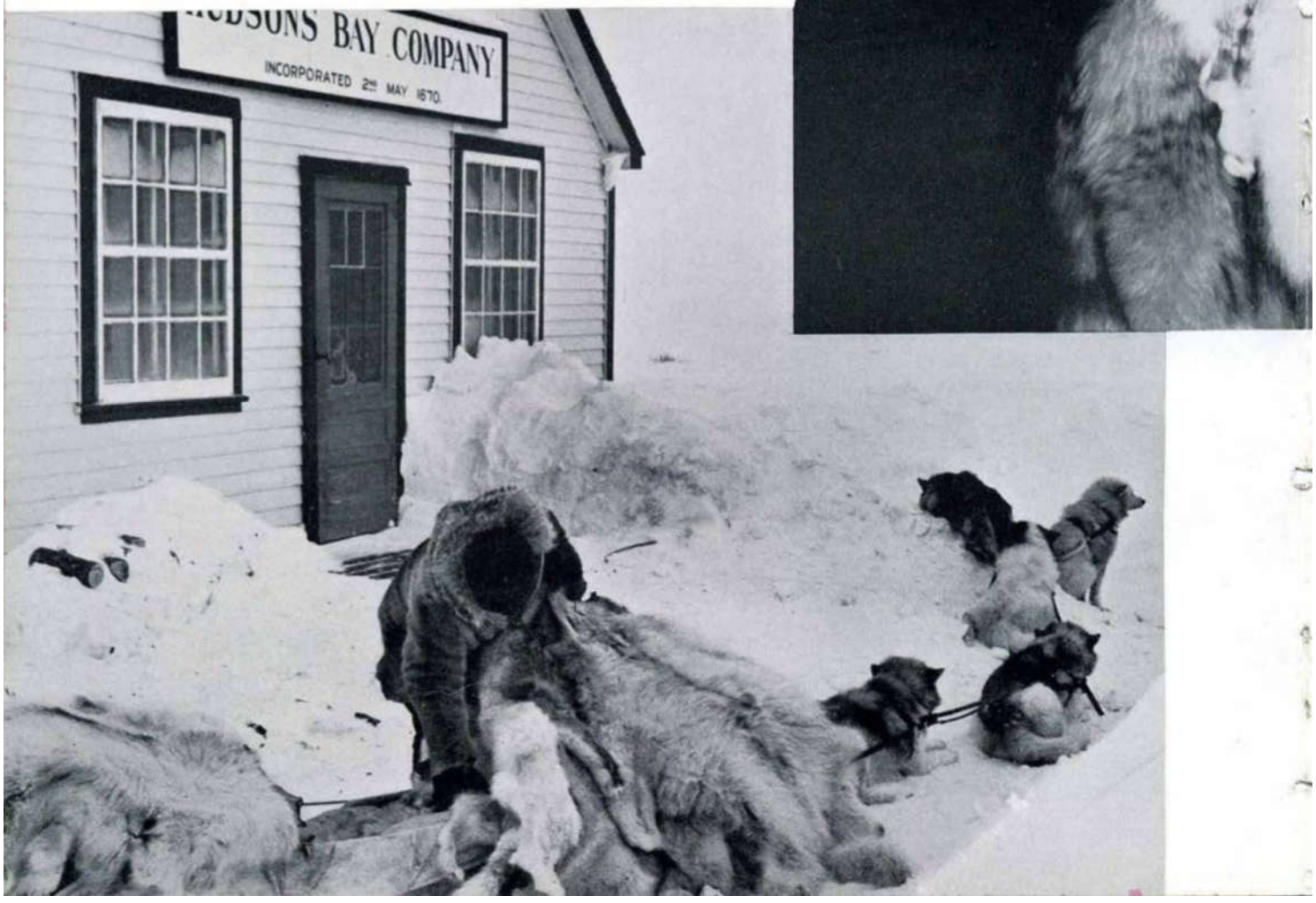
Stretching an ermine skin.

Skinning a beaver. With the pelt grasped firmly in her left hand, she cuts away the flesh with a sharp knife. Note the severed hind paws at lower left.

On the counter at the store, Post Manager Horace Flett measures the skin with a steel tape.

Stretching a beaver skin on a frame made of willows.

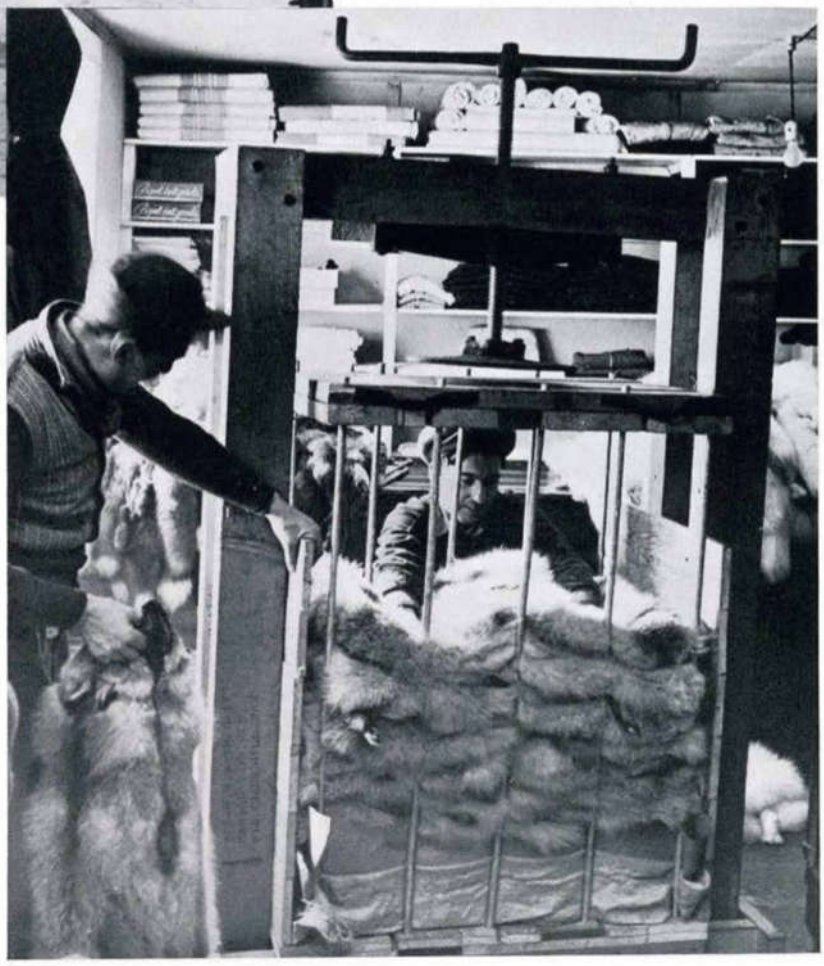
A white trapper, Ragnar Jonsson, arrives at the post with a toboggan load of furs.



Point of sale. This is the climax of the northern fur trade, when the trapper exchanges his furs for the trader's goods.

Once bought, each pelt is stamped with the letters HB C pricked out in tiny holes.

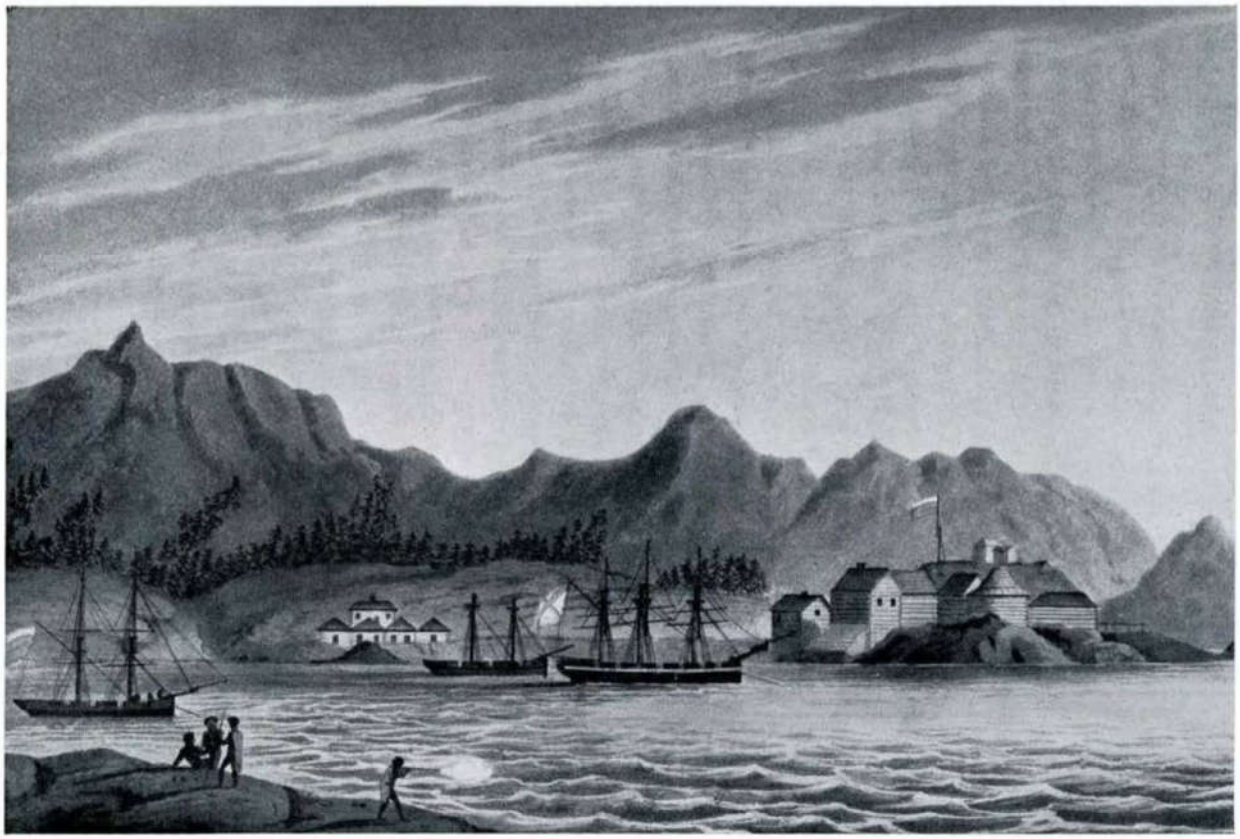
When he has enough fox skins to make a bale, the post manager brings them from the warehouse into the store.



With a native helper, he packs the skins into the press, first putting a piece of burlap underneath.

When the press is full, he puts another piece of burlap on top, and begins to turn the screw.

Now the bale is compressed and sewn up, and the post manager marks on it the outfit number (277), the district letter (S) and post number (24). And the raw skins, which have cost so much in toil and hardship to collect, are ready for shipment to the fur markets of the world.



The Russian fort at New Archangel, Sitka Sound, in 1805. From Lisiansky's *Voyage Round the World.* *B. C. Archives.*

TREATY with the RUSSIANS

In 1839 the Russian American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company made an agreement that "set an example of civilized behaviour for posterity to copy."

by Reginald Saw

ONE hundred and ten years ago the rivalry between Britain and Russia for the fur trade of the northwest coast had reached a climax. Although armed hostilities had not yet broken out, feeling ran high, and the situation called for bold and decisive measures. In this extremity the Hudson's Bay Company sent two of their most capable officers to open negotiations with the Russians at St. Petersburg—John Henry Pelly, governor of the Company for the past sixteen years, and George Simpson, governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land. It was this meeting which laid the foundation for the commercial agreement of the following year which secured a peaceful settlement of an old dispute and set an example of civilized behaviour for posterity to copy—or ignore.

The story is worth telling, and has its roots as far back as 1680, when the minute book of the Company refers to an order that some grades of parchment skins might be suitable for the Russian trade. In 1695 the Company appointed Charles Goodfellow, then at Hamburg, to be their factor in Russia, "for wee are ashured yt in yt Countrey thers vended a Vast Quantity of Beaver, and as wee have been informed to the number of 50 or 60000 skins yearly, whereof wee understand [you know] wee can furnish you even to what quantity you shall bee able to sell there, etc."

This trade with Russia flourished so much that in 1707 the Company offered to send a ship with "20,000 Parchment Beaver skins and 4,000 Coate Beaver skins." Naturally the Russians also were hunting for skins, particularly sables, and in this pursuit eventually pushed across Siberia and established possession of Kamchatka in 1696. In 1728 Vitus Bering, a Dane in the Russian navy, sailed his ship through the Bering Strait and rounded East Cape. In 1741 the Russians fitted out a scientific expedition whose object was to reach America. The two ships were commanded by Bering and Chirikov respectively. Chirikov attempted a landing, but his party was massacred by natives and he returned home. Bering decided to land on an island, now known as Bering Island, of the Commander group over against Kamchatka, but he and his crew were badly stricken with scurvy. Bering died and his ship was driven ashore and buried in sand; only a few of

his crew got home again, but the discoveries made by these two commanders gave Russia its first and somewhat frail title to Alaska.

A flourishing fur trade sprang up as a result of seeing the beautiful sea-otter pelts brought back by the survivors of Bering's crew. In 1745 Russian traders reached the Aleutians and in 1763-65 landed on Kodiak Island east of the Alaskan Peninsula. All the northwest coast of America was attracting the attention of the great trading nations of that era, the Russians, British, Americans and Spanish. Internal troubles and Napoleon caused the Spanish in California to cease to push their interests farther north, but the Russians slowly and persistently moved southward. There were at least two Russian undertakings engaged in the northwest American fur hunt, and competition was spoiling prices. As a consequence, a union of interests took place in 1799 under the name of the Russian-American Fur Company. The Imperial Russian Government granted this Company considerable privileges for a period of twenty years, and by an imperial ukase of 1821 the Russian-American Fur Company was "authorised to use or occupy the northwest coast of America (long since claimed by Russia) commencing at the North Cape of Vancouver Island under the 51st degree of North Latitude to Behring's Straits and beyond." It was also declared that the Company was not under the necessity of extending her territories into "the interior of those shores where she carries into effect the catching" of maritime animals. By a Treaty of Amity between the U.S.A. and Spain (ratified in 1819 and 1820) the northern boundary of California was to extend from the River Arkansas to the 42nd parallel of latitude, and to follow it to the Pacific Ocean. The U.S.A. took over all or any rights of the Spanish king north of that line.

The full exploitation of the privileges granted by the ukase of 1821 to the Russian-American Fur Company was hindered by the great distance of the fur traders from a reliable and well stocked food supply and base. Russia itself was too far away; China, though a good market, had not the right sort of stores. The nearest suitable source was California. Trade with the northwest was largely in the hands of the American ships hailing from New England, and many of the Americans engaged in this trade were ruthless irresponsible traders who sold arms and liquor to the Indians and demoralized trade. Both Simpson and Pelly considered it was in the best interests of both the British and the Russians to eliminate them: "With the last [i.e. the American traders] it is impossible to come to any good understanding," wrote Pelly on September 1, 1838, to the directors of the Russian-American Company, "as they change from year to year, being merely Birds of Passage." Accordingly Simpson proposed that the two ships from England which brought stores to the British settlements out there every year should carry an additional 50 to 100 tons each for the Russians, and also offered to supply the Russians with 4,000-5,000 bushels of grain and 8,000-10,000 hams and salted meat each year. As to areas, the menace to the Company's trade from the Russians was removed by the Alaskan Boundary Convention of February 16, 1825, by which the line of separation between the British and Russian territories on the Pacific coast was fixed at Latitude 54° 40′. It was at Pelly's suggestion that Article IV (2) was inserted to the effect that the Russian boundary on the northwest coast of America should in no case be extended farther than ten marine leagues from the sea. By eliminating the Americans, this left the Russians and British as sole competitors.

Chief Factor McLoughlin, the Company's local superintendent, had been busy constructing a chain of trading posts extending northward from the Columbia River. Fort Langley had been founded in 1827 and Fort Simpson in 1831. In 1833 two other posts—Fort Nisqually and Fort McLoughlin—were added to the chain, while in the same year P. S. Ogden had explored the lower reaches of the Stikine River and chosen there a site for another trading centre. The valleys of the Stikine and Taku Rivers lay in British territory but the mouths of these rivers lay in Russian territory, the Russians having a strip of land along either bank at the mouth. The British maintained that they had been guaranteed free navigation of the river under the treaty of 1825 (which had still a year to run) and proposed to construct their new post sufficiently far inland. The Russians however felt that such a post would intercept the supply of furs otherwise coming to them. They therefore hurriedly constructed a small fort—the Redoubt of St. Dionysius—at the mouth of the Stikine and stationed the 14-gun brig *Chichagoff* in front of it. The Company decided to extend their trade to the district of British territory inland from the coast northward of latitude 56°, and accordingly Chief

Part of the coast of Russian America, from a map published between 1846 and 1858.

Factor McLoughlin fitted out an expedition and sent the brig *Dryad* to establish a post on the Stikine River. But the Russians had determined to prevent "foreigners" from trading up the river. The British pointed out that the natives of the adjacent country had already expressed joy at the prospect of having a trading post near them and appeared well disposed in everything. But on this subsequent visit they appeared to have changed their opinion and were hostile to the idea. Obviously the Russians had given them a totally false idea of the views and intentions of the English. As no solution of the deadlock could be reached after an argument lasting eleven days, the *Dryad* withdrew and the incident took four years to settle. The main result was that a strip of land at the mouth of the river was leased to the British. The *Dryad* incident made it necessary to negotiate an agreement which should end the cause for further claims by providing a sound economic foundation for a planned friendly relationship.

It was in August 1838 that Governors Pelly and Simpson made their voyage to St. Petersburg to open discussions with the directors of the Russian-American Fur Company. On September 1, while at St. Petersburg, Pelly wrote making some reference to the *Dryad* incident and suggesting that the two companies might mutually agree to some trading arrangement which would obviate the possibility of any such incident in future. On behalf of the British, Pelly offered by letter:

1. To supply the Russian establishments on the northwest coast, deliverable at Fort Simpson, with all the British manufactured goods, grain, flour, etc., which the Russians mainly take from American traders and from California, at fair prices to the exclusion of any other traders.

2. During the same term both companies to confine their trade or dealings with the Indians to their proper territories.

3. To forbid the sale of arms, ammunition and spirits to the Indians.

He pointed out the following advantages which would accrue:

1. The unmolested enjoyment of trade in their respective territories.

2. The establishment of a fair and equitable standard of trade with the Indians.

3. A reduction of the heavy and expensive establishment of posts, shipping and servants required for the protection of trade.

4. The introduction of measures of economy in the management as would yield a handsome profit in the shape of savings.

The terms were approved and the agreement was signed at Hamburg (a sort of halfway house between the two countries in Europe) on February 6, 1839, by George Simpson for the British and Baron Ferdinand Wrangel (a director of the Russian company) for the Russians. The agreement contained nine articles:

1. The Russians leased to the Company for ten years and for commercial purposes the coast and interior country situated between Cape Spencer, forming the northwest headland of the entrance of Cross Sound and latitude 54° 40″ or thereabouts, say the mainland coast and interior country together with the Russian establishment of Point Highfield, free from interference by the Russians, at an annual rent of 2000 seasoned Land Otter skins.*

2. The Company not to trade with Indians for furs on any other part of the Russian territory on the northwest coast.

3. To sell during these ten years to the Russian company all seasoned land otter skins collected on the western side of the Rockies, not exceeding 2,000 skins, over and above the 2,000 mentioned in Article I, at 23/- per skin, and 3,000 seasoned land otter skins taken on the eastern side of the Rockies at 32/- per skin.

4. To furnish the Russians for ten years with the undermentioned articles at the prices quoted:

160 cwt Wheat Flour	at 18/5d per cwt
130 cwt Pease	" 13/- " "
130 cwt grits & hulled pot barley, if it can be annually provided	" 13/- " "
300 cwt of Salt Beef	" 20/- " "
160 cwt of Salt Butter	" 56/- " "
30 cwt of Pork Ham	" 6d " lb.

5. The Russians undertook to forward to their settlements on the northwest coast manufactured goods and other supplies as usually received from England and the U.S.A. by the Company's annual ship from England at £13 per ton, but if the Russian company should send one of their own ships from St. Petersburg to the northwest coast the supplies might go by that ship instead.

6. Payment under the agreement to be by bills of exchange in triplicate at sixty days after sight.

7. In case of war between England and Russia that should not cause a cessation of payments by the Russian company but all payments due were to continue to be made as if the two countries were at peace.

8. Also in case of war between England and Russia, the Russians were to allow the Company to withdraw peaceably from the contracted territory within three months from the outbreak of hostilities and were not to claim against the Company for loss or damage due to hostilities.

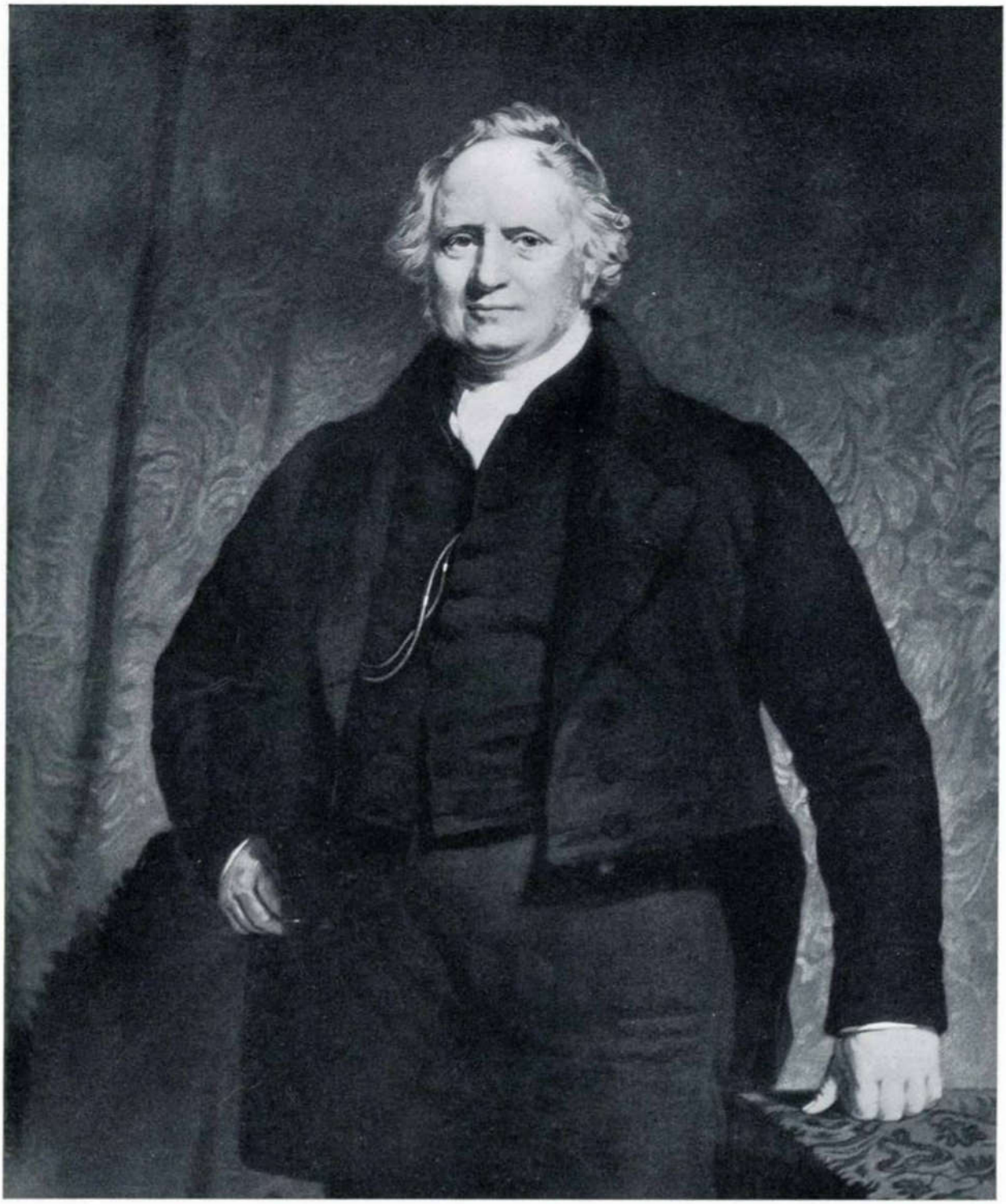
9. The Company was to cease pressing its claims arising out of the *Dryad* incident.

Articles 7 and 8 gave a splendid example of how civilized people not personally antagonistic should conduct themselves on the outbreak of war—but that was away back in the days of the czars when Russian diplomacy observed the custom of good manners, and fundamental decency in human relationships counted for something.

The Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian company were powerful enough to keep their peaceful trading area in the northwest isloated from the Crimean War in 1854-55 and ignore the fighting in Europe, allowing neither "molestation nor interference with the trade of the different parties," and this "was strictly observed during the whole war." (Select Committee on the H.B.C. 1857, Questions 1738-1741.)

Governor Simpson was authorized to put the agreement into force. Actually it was not easy to carry out some parts at first. It was hoped that a market had been provided for the Company's farms, notably at Fort Vancouver. Chief Trader James Douglas was directed to provide farm produce. In order to do this he started ploughing to provide

*Paul Kane in his book mentions John Rowand arriving at Norway House with six boats, one of which was entirely devoted to the carriage of the furs paid annually by the H B C to Russia. There were 70 pieces, each containing 75 otter skins "of the very best description." Mostly from Mackenzie River, they were on their way to York Factory to be culled, packed, and shipped west again to Fort Victoria, and thence to Sitka.—Ed.



Sir John Henry Pelly, governor of the HBC from 1822 to 1852, and of the Bank of England in 1841-2, who was largely responsible for the success of the negotiations with Russia. From the painting in the Company's London board room by Henry P. Briggs, R.A.

grain and building dairies to provide butter on Wapatoo Island. He sent an English family to each of the following farms: The Cowlitz Farm, Nisqually and Fort Langley, to establish a dairy at each of the first two named and two at the last named. However, the cows proved to be very bad milkers, some of them not giving above a pint of milk a day. Before a select committee of the House of Commons in 1857 Sir George Simpson stated that the main rent in skins had been commuted into money—£1,500 a year. Although McLoughlin's claim for £22,150 damages arising out of the failure of the *Dryad* expedition was never paid, difficult negotiations had been successfully guided into the ways of peace.

This photograph of the east end of the Roman Catholic Church at Fort Good Hope was taken by Capt. J. W. Mills several years ago. The ceiling is night blue with gold stars—which here look black.

THE CHURCH OF GOOD HOPE

by George Pendleton

On the banks of the Mackenzie River, only a few miles south of the Arctic Circle, stands this remarkable church, noted for the colourful murals painted by its missionary priests.

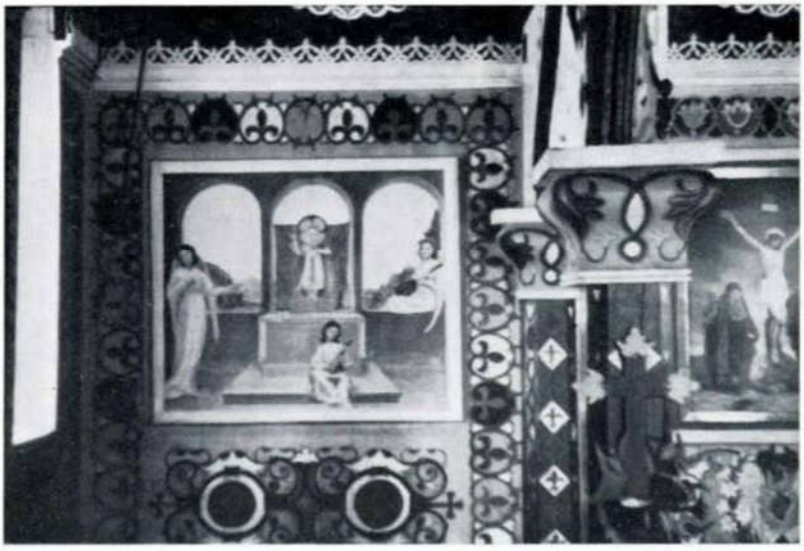
FATHER A. Robin is justly proud of his church, which he says is the oldest and the best north of Edmonton. And what priest would not be proud of such a church, filled as it is with handicraft and art, the work of generations of loving workers?

The two features of the church which lift it above the somewhat commonplace churches of the North are the good woodwork and the unusual mural paintings. The latter are the more noticeable since the church is situated practically on the Arctic circle.

The church of Our Lady of Good Hope was built about 1870 and took some four or five years to erect. Ten years later, in 1880, when the building became too small, it was lengthened, the present altar rail indicating the original length of the church. In 1934 Bishop Breynat had the church raised and the foundation renewed and at the same time the steeple was covered with sheet iron.

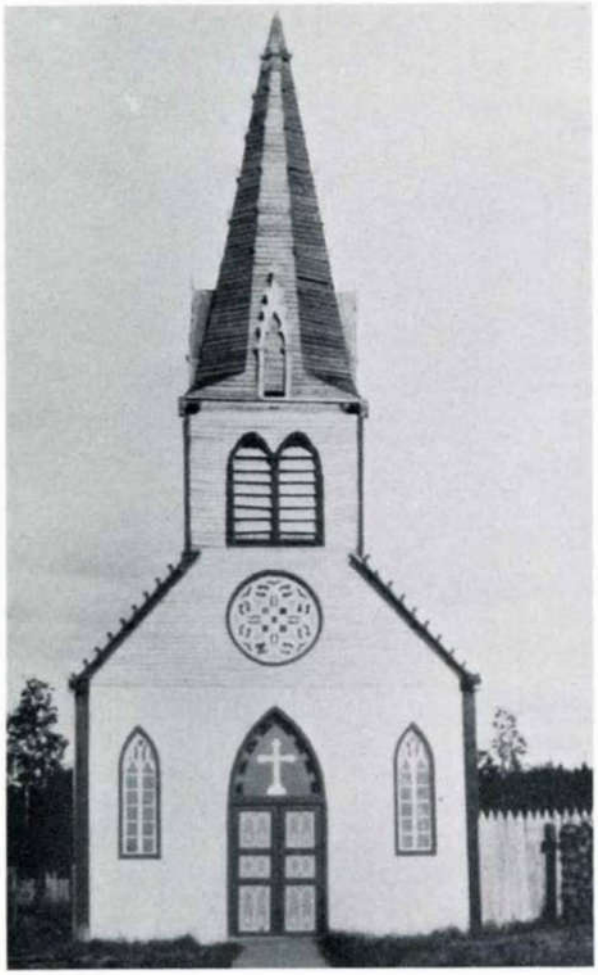
An early missionary priest—Father Petitot, O.M.I., a noted traveller and authority on northern history and native lore—was connected with the church in its early years and in 1878 he painted the interior walls. In doing so he left panels outlined by decorative painted frames within which large religious pictures were to be executed later. That Father Petitot possessed artistic ability of a high order is shown by the delicately painted miniatures of flowers, fruits, small birds, etc. he left scattered around the walls. Being unable to procure linseed oil, he used fish oil as a medium.

After the departure, through illness, of Father Petitot from Fort Good Hope, he was succeeded by Brother Ancel, who, before he joined the order of the Oblates, was a cabinet maker by trade. He took over joyously the work still to be done in the church and first did some excellent woodwork. Although he had never painted before, he undertook to finish



A detail of part of the interior, showing how almost every square inch is covered with pictures and designs.

The west end of the Church of Our Lady of Good Hope.
R. S. Aikins.



the decorative painting Father Petitot had started. Moreover he wanted to do the large paintings Father Petitot had envisaged, and in this work he succeeded marvellously well. Again fish oil was selected as a medium.

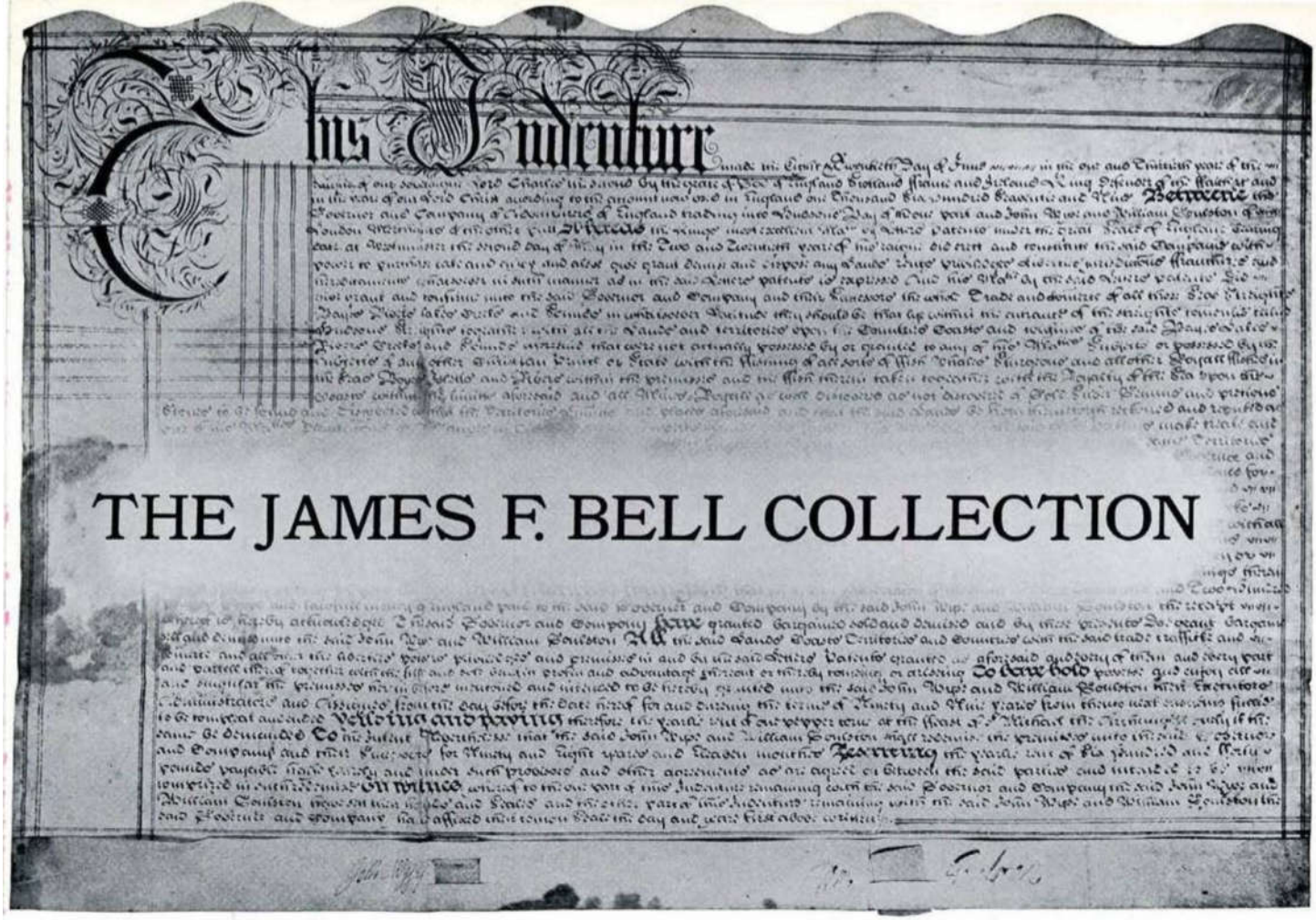
On the left hand, as you face the altar, Brother Ancel painted a large picture of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem with the shepherds, wise men and cattle bowed in adoration. On the opposite side of the church is a companion picture depicting the promise of God to Adam and Eve after the fall. Above the altar, on either side of a statue of the Virgin, he painted an angel, and in each corner of the choir he painted representations of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Brother Ancel painted the decorative work on the large beams over the altar rail and in the centre depicted the crucified Christ, flanked on either side by St. Joseph and the Virgin Mary. Most of his work was done in the years 1883 and 1884.

In 1941, Father Jean Colas painted the Annunciation, and in the remaining large panel left by Father Petitot in the body of the church, he painted the burial of Jesus.

Visitors to the church of Our Lady of Good Hope, and they are many, are surprised to find such ornate and beautiful decorations in so remote a place on the edge of the Arctic circle. It seems to them to be more appropriate to the sun-drenched plains of central Italy or to the hot wide spaces of southern France. But to those who built and decorated the church, locality was a thing of no moment. To them the thing that mattered was the love of God in their hearts. The church called for the best that was in them, and to the church they gave their best; the urge to create was the same whether applied in the blazing sun of the south or the bitter cold of the Arctic wastes; to a soaring Gothic fane or to a wooden edifice often built of makeshift materials.

The fire that burnt in the hearts of the master masons of the Gothic era, and that burst into glowing flame in the decorative artists of the Renaissance, was present also in the hearts of the humble missionary priests who were called to minister to human souls in the frigid and barren Arctic wastes.



The agreement whereby John Wyse and William Goulston loaned £3200 to the Company in June 1679.

by Donald F. Warner

The James Ford Bell Collection of priceless documents and books contains some unique Hudson's Bay Company material.

THE numerous and excellent public archives and libraries in the United States and Canada have tended in the past to obscure the importance, and even the existence, of the fine collections of books and manuscripts privately held in those two countries, many of them containing material significant to the history of North America. More recently, published catalogues and review articles have increasingly revealed the contents of the better private accumulations, and historians and others are making greater use of them. The motivating purpose of this article is to contribute modestly to this trend by describing those items from the excellent collection of James F. Bell, of Minneapolis, which will be of interest to the readers of the *Beaver*.

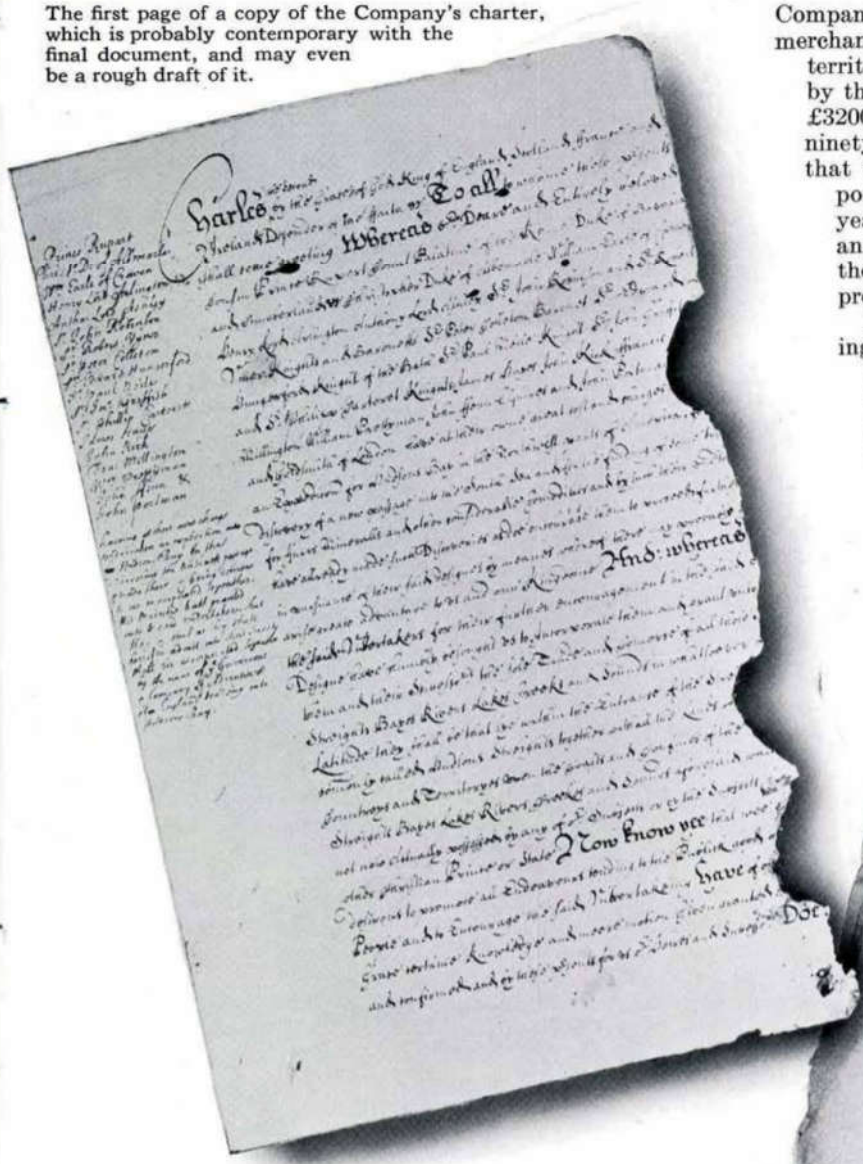
Mr. Bell, who was formerly chairman of the board of directors and president of General Mills, Inc., and is a regent of the University of Minnesota, has built his collection upon the theme of exploration. For the early years, he has accounts of the fundamental discoveries of America; for later periods, he has specialized in the story of the penetration of North America through what is to-day Canada. Thus the Bell collection is not primarily concerned with the Hudson's Bay Company, but inevitably contains numerous items related to its history.*

The most interesting of these items are the manuscripts. The first document, chronologically, is a copy of the original charter of the Company, and probably contemporary with it. The Bell copy has a number of variations from the original; for example, it lists the names of the Adventurers in the margin, and has several discrepancies in wording and spelling. It may even have been a rough draft of the original charter, although the fact that it contains the date of issuance argues against this assumption.

The Bell collection also has a number of other manuscripts from the early history of the Company, most of them dealing with its financial operations. The fortunes of the Company at that time displayed meteoric qualities, with bewildering rises and plunges; the Bell documents reveal some of its tribulations and its successes. The first manuscript is a letter dated March 7, 1676 (1677), and written by several of the Adventurers to John Morris and Sir Robert Clayton, who was later treasurer of the Company and Lord Mayor of London. It stated that the Company was fitting out a ship to trade in the Bay but was short of cash since part of its beaver remained unsold. A loan not exceeding £500 was requested and Clayton and Morris were reminded that they had accommodated a similar request the previous year. The letter closed with the earnest assurance that "you shall be sure to meet with fair

*A catalogue of the entire Bell collection is now being printed by the University of Minnesota.

The first page of a copy of the Company's charter, which is probably contemporary with the final document, and may even be a rough draft of it.

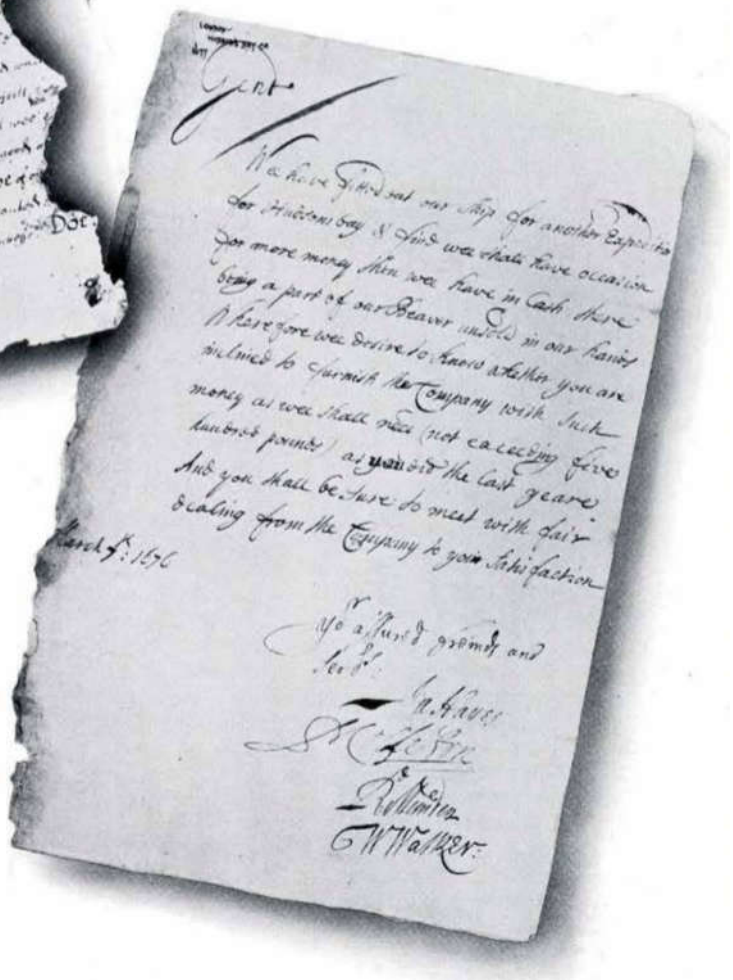


dealing from the Company to your satisfaction." Apparently Clayton and Morris honoured this request, for records show that they advanced £400 to the captain of one of the Company's ships that same month. The creditors of the Company received its letters patent as security.

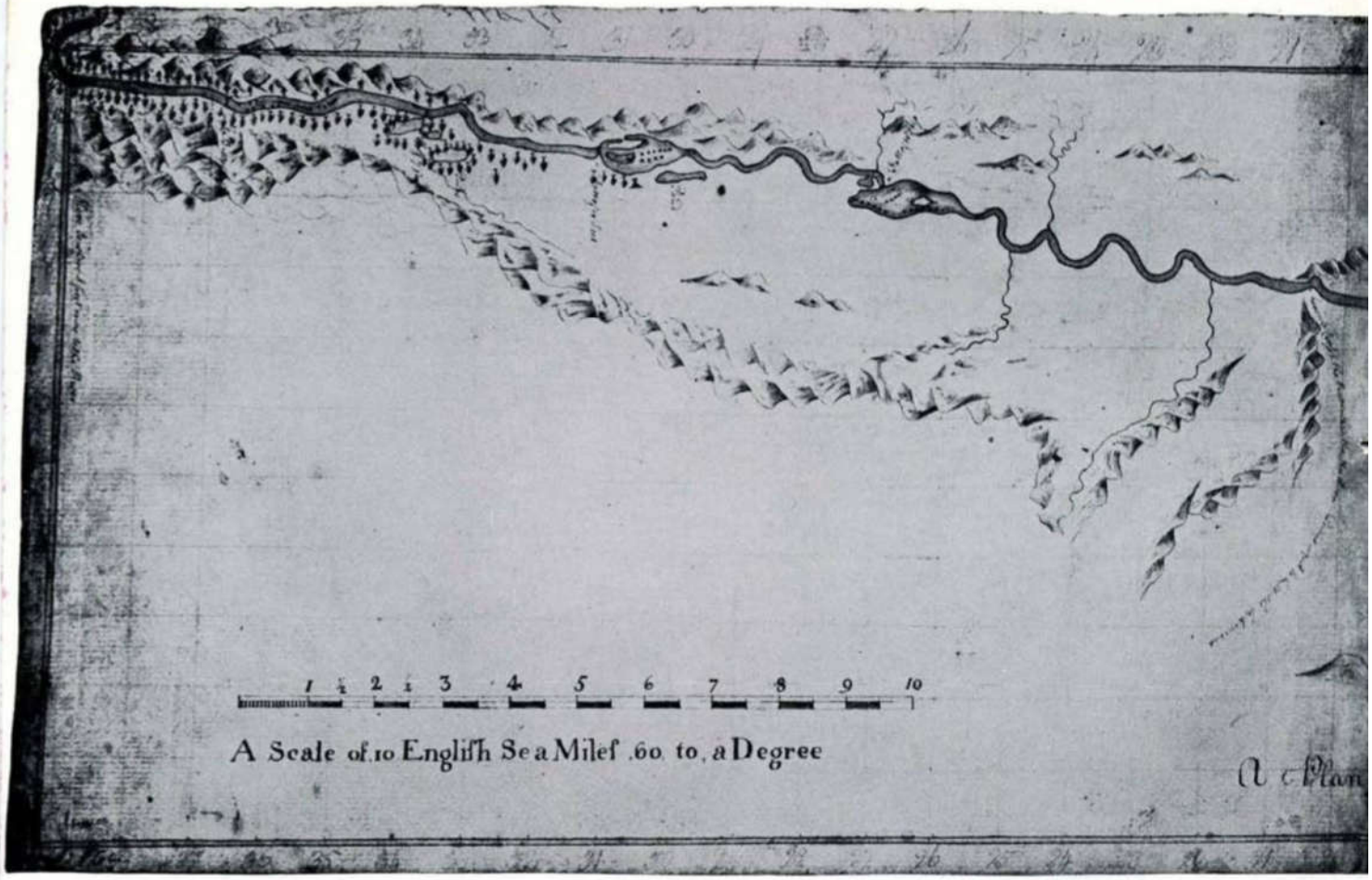
Several years later, the Company again found itself in financial difficulties, as G. N. Clark has related in the introduction to *The Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679-1684* (H.B.R.S. vol. VIII). Its posts on the Bay were mismanaged, its voyages were poorly planned, and bad luck dogged its operations in general. Several prominent members, despairing of success and profit, sold their shares. In such straits, the Company resorted to a device which, Clark informs us, it sometimes employed—borrowing from its own members. A series of documents in the Bell collection give us an insight into two such transactions.

The first of these manuscripts is an indenture dated June 28, 1679, and executed between the Company and John Wyse and William Goulston, merchants of London. This indenture listed the territories and powers granted to the Adventurers by the charter of 1670 and, in return for a loan of £3200, demised them to Wyse and Goulston for ninety-nine years. The document further stated that the two men were to convey the lands and powers back to the Company for ninety-eight years and eleven months in exchange for an annual rent of £640. This rent was interest on the loan, and the usurious rate indicated the precarious position of the debtor.

In a second instrument executed the following day, Wyse and Goulston acknowledged that they were merely acting as trustees in the loan for those who had actually advanced the money, and listed the real lenders and their individual beneficial interests. Many of the famous members of the Company were named, including Prince Rupert, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, Nicholas Hayward, Sir James Hayes, and Sir Christopher Wren. The amounts advanced by these individuals varied considerably; the veteran creditors, Clayton and Morris,



Letter signed by Deputy Governor Sir James Hayes, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir Richard Munden, and William Walker, asking Sir Robert Clayton and John Morris for a loan. (The letter was actually written in 1677, as in England at that time the year ended on March 24.)



Samuel Hearne's manuscript map of the Coppermine River is one of the most interesting documents in Mr. Bell's collection. By comparing it with the published version, slight differences will be noticed in the legends. For instance, where Hearne wrote, "here

contributed by far the largest sum, £1360. Again, the charter was used as security.

The Bell collection contains several copies of this instrument, all practically identical in wording. Various endorsements on these documents indicate further transactions based on the original loan. For example, Sir James Hayes transferred £100 of his interest in the loan to Richard Cradock, while another notation certified that the cash advanced by Thomas Kelsey was the "propper" money of Nicholas Hayward for whom Kelsey's name was used in trust.

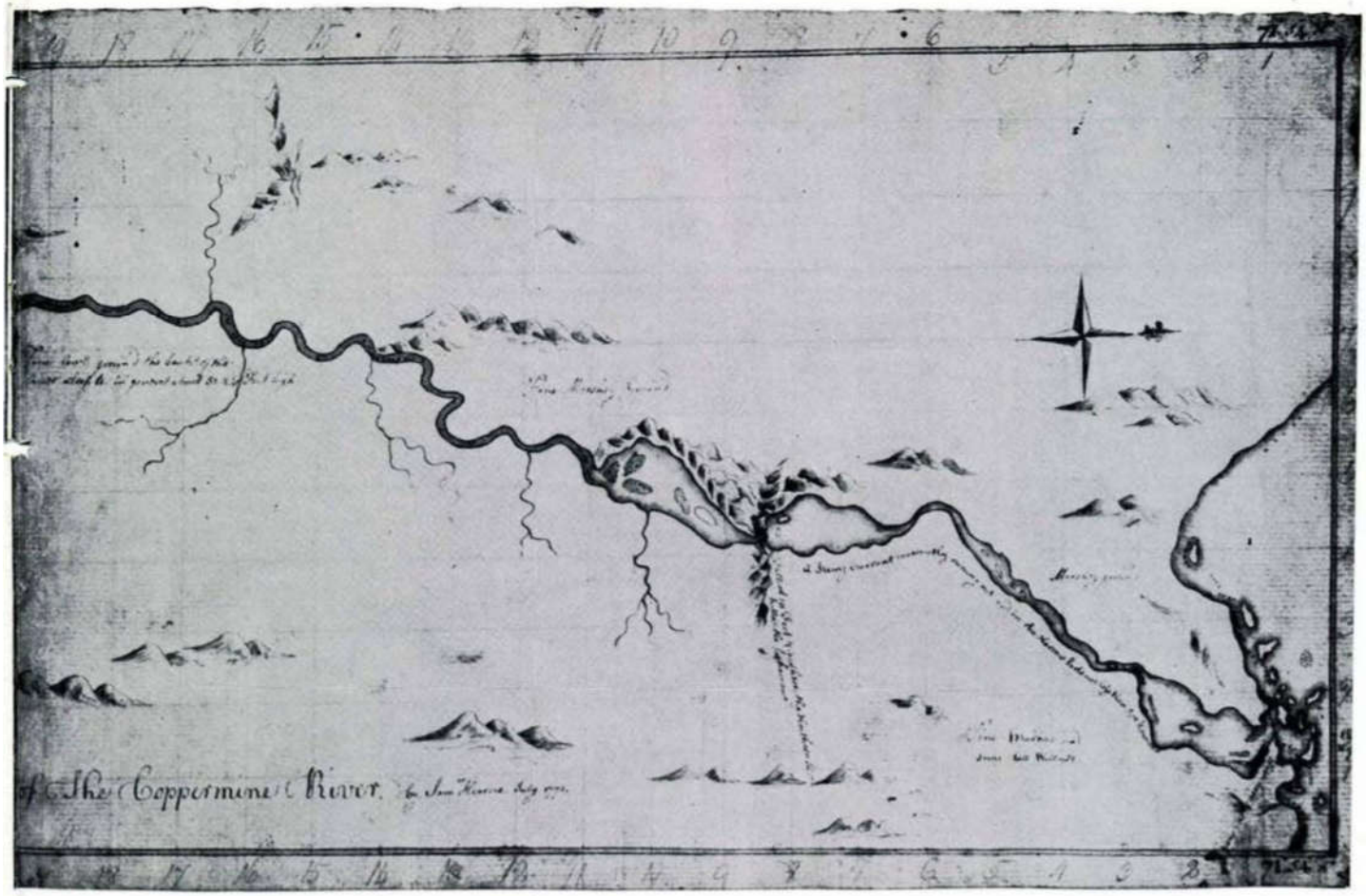
This loan had a sour conclusion. Early in 1680 the Company realized £9000 from the sale of furs. Wishing to redeem the charter and to save interest, it asked its creditors to receive repayment of the monies advanced. Clayton refused. With the organization temporarily affluent, his money was safe and he intended to collect a full year's interest on it. The other Adventurers resented his attitude and early in 1681 they peevishly declined to re-elect him to the office of treasurer of the Company.

The £9000 was apparently soon consumed in the constant fires of expense, for another document in the Bell collection shows that the Company was again compelled to borrow from its members the following February (1681). The same technique was used; the lands and powers of the Company were transferred to two men, John Morris and Richard Webb, acting in trust for those who put up the money, and the Bell collection contains a receipt issued by Morris, who acknowledged that he had possession of the charter and promised to keep it as safe "as I doe my owne writings." Morris and Webb then redemised the security. The amount of this loan was £5120.

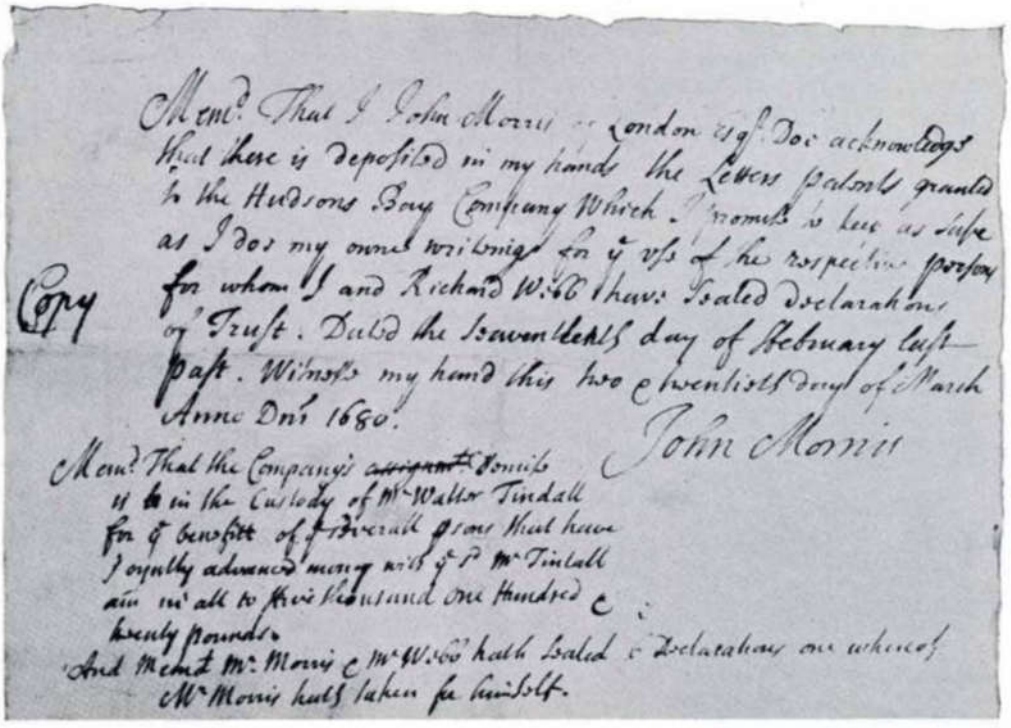
The next item of interest in the Bell collection is a manuscript map of the Coppermine River made by Samuel Hearne on his famous expedition to that area. This seems to have been the original of the chart of the river published by Hearne in his account of the journey and in subsequent works on that subject. In the Bell copy, Hearne put his initials in the southwest corner of the map, and labelled it "A Plan of the Coppermine River by Sam'l Hearne, July, 1771."

The final Company document in the Bell collection, and in some respects the most interesting, is an abstract of the conditions expressed in the conveyance of land from the Company to the Earl of Selkirk for his colony and of the subsequent regulations issued for the observance of the settlers there. The latter were expected to signify their knowledge and acceptance of the conditions by signing this statement.

The abstract was divided into eight sections. The first five protected the rights of the Company in trade. Selkirk and his associates were forbidden to infringe upon the privileges granted by the charter of 1670, and were particularly prohibited from dispensing liquor to the Indians or from participating in the fur trade. They might, however, import and export other goods necessary for the colony, provid-



we Crost the River when the Northern Indians went to kill the Eskamaux," the engraver shortened it to "Here we crossed the River to the Esquimaux." The pencilled squares were apparently ruled and numbered by the engraver. Note Hearne's initials, barely discernible in the extreme lower left corner.



Memd That I John Morris of London Esqr Doe acknowledge that there is deposited in my hands the Letters patents granted to the Hudsons Bay Company Which I promise to keep as safe as I doe my owne writings for ye vse of the respective persons for whom I and Richard W.m Hewer shall Sealed Declarations of Trust. Dated the Seaventeenth day of February last past. Witnesse my hand this twenty sixth day of March Anno Dni 1680.

Copy

John Morris

Memd That the Companys ~~assignment~~ bonds is in the Custody of Mr Walter Tindall for ye benefitt of ye Company for that I have formerly advanced many wills of Mr Tindall ain me all to the Sume of one Hundred & twenty pounds.

And Memd Mr Morris & Mr W.m Hewer hath Sealed & Declarations one whereof Mr Morris hath taken for himselfe.

Alderman John Morris's receipt for the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, deposited in his keeping as security for a loan of £5120. The true date is 1681.

ing that these were carried in Company ships and deposited in Company warehouses. The Company contracted to charge the same rates for freight, storage, and wharfage as prevailed for the voyage from London to Quebec, and not to assess duties exceeding five percent *ad valorem* except where tariffs on the same goods were higher at Quebec.

The last three sections of the abstract dealt with the internal affairs of the colony. The settlers were required to spend not more than six days a year making and repairing public roads, furnishing their own labour and "Cattle Carts and Carriages and other things necessary for the purpose. . . ." The next section provided that each colonist must also contribute three days of work in the spring and three in the fall to the support of the clergyman to whose church he belonged. The final paragraph required the settlers to aid in "the defense and internal peace of their settlement . . ." in the same manner as the laws of Canada and of Nova Scotia required of the inhabitants of those places.

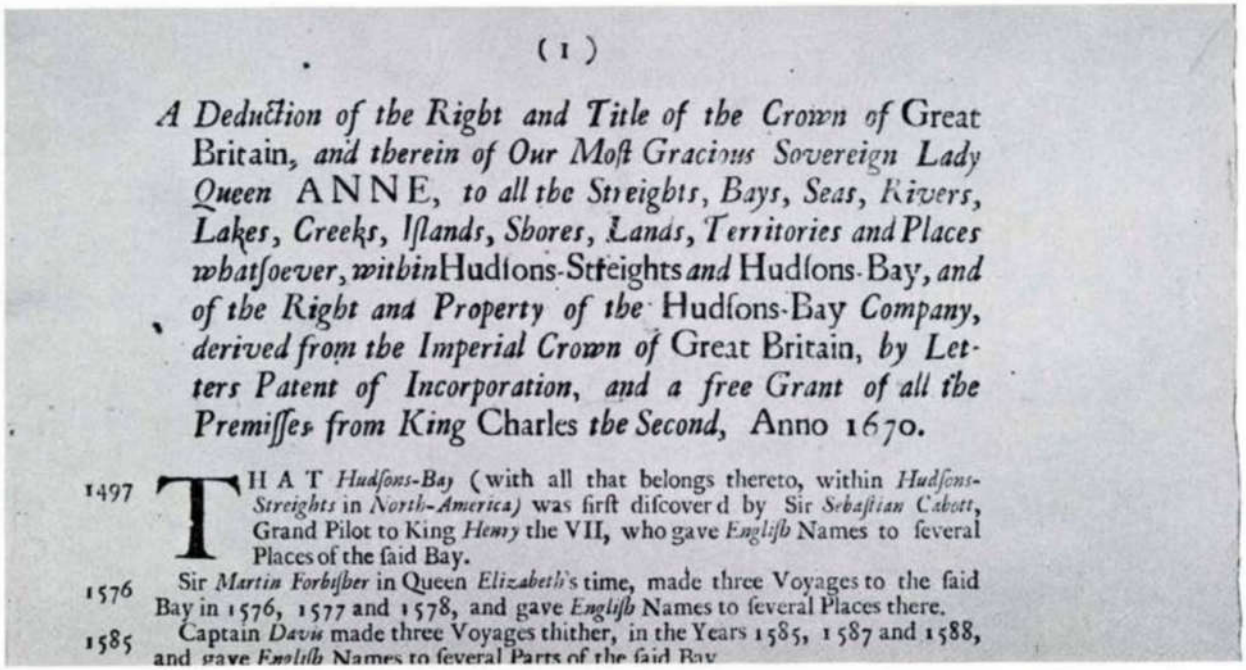
The main body of this manuscript is followed by the signatures of forty-eight settlers. The names indicate the cosmopolitan character of the little colony, for we find Baptiste Lalande signing with Christian Wachter, George Adams, James Fraser, Martin Hratic, Andrew Jankossky, and John Corcoran. That a schoolmaster was needed fully as much as roads and clergy was indicated by the fact that over half of the signatures were "marks." It should be added that this abstract was apparently never completed nor in legal force.

In addition to the manuscripts, the Bell collection contains some forty-one books and pamphlets dealing wholly or in part with the history of the Company. A number of these publications are rare and of considerable historical value. The earliest of them is a pamphlet entitled, *The Right of the Crown of Great Britain to Hudson's Bay and Streights*. Issued by the Company and addressed to Queen Anne, its purpose was to publicize the contention that Britain's title to the Bay was indisputable since her people had been first in its discovery, exploration, and exploitation. The pamphlet listed the numerous voyages made to the Bay under the British flag, and outlined the pioneer work of the Company in establishing trade and posts there. It stated that the first French ship ever in the Bay came in 1682 to attack Company posts when England and France were at peace and thus inaugurated the bitter contest for that area. The pamphlet closed with the implied plea to the Queen and government to force the French from this area lest they come to dominate it to the injury of all who traded to the northern colonies. The Bell copy of this pamphlet is said to be the only one in existence.

The next items centre around the famous Dobbs controversy. It will be recalled that Dobbs failed in his attempt to break the monopoly of the Company, but not before the conflicting parties had engaged in a brisk paper war, bombarding each other and a bewildered public with heavy volleys of literature. The Bell collection contains several examples of this ammunition. One item is a pamphlet issued by the Dobbs partisan, J. Robinson, and entitled, *Reasons to Shew that there is a Great Possibility of a Navigable Passage to the Western American Ocean Through Hudson's Streights and Chesterfield Inlet* (London,1749). This publication advanced the favourite Dobbs contention that the Company had been dilatory in fulfilling its charter requirement to search for the Northwest Passage. Robinson sought to prove, by the process of reasoning, that Chesterfield Inlet was the long-sought marine El Dorado, his "evidence" being a study of the volume and flow of the tides in that area.

The Bell collection also contains a copy of Edward Umfreville's excellent work, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* (London, 1790). This book was not a product of the Dobbs episodes, but referred to them and followed the same theme of attacking the monopoly. Umfreville, an intelligent man and a keen observer, had been in the Company service in the Bay from 1771 to 1782 and was well qualified to describe the situation there. The theme of his book was that the territory granted to the Company should be the object of a well-rounded program of development for the enrichment of all Britain. Umfreville contended that agriculture, mining, and lumbering would support a large population and a varied

The top of the first page of a rare pamphlet entitled *The Right of the Crown of Great Britain to Hudsons Bay and Streights*. This is believed to be the only copy in existence.



(1)

A Deduction of the Right and Title of the Crown of Great Britain, *and therein of Our Moſt Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen* ANNE, *to all the Streights, Bays, Seas, Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, Iſlands, Shores, Lands, Territories and Places whatſoever, within* Hudſons-Streights *and* Hudſons-Bay, *and of the Right and Property of the* Hudſons-Bay *Company, derived from the Imperial Crown of* Great Britain, *by Letters Patent of Incorporation, and a free Grant of all the Premiſſes from King* Charles *the Second,* Anno 1670.

1497 THAT *Hudſons-Bay* (with all that belongs thereto, within *Hudſons-Streights* in *North-America)* was firſt diſcover'd by Sir *Sebaſtian Cabott*, Grand Pilot to King *Henry* the VII, who gave *Engliſh* Names to ſeveral Places of the ſaid Bay.

1576 Sir *Martin Forbiſher* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, made three Voyages to the ſaid Bay in 1576, 1577 and 1578, and gave *Engliſh* Names to ſeveral Places there.

1585 Captain *Davis* made three Voyages thither, in the Years 1585, 1587 and 1588, and gave *Engliſh* Names to ſeveral Parts of the ſaid Bay

An Abstract of the several Conditions as expressed in a certain Conveyance from The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay to The Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Selkirk of part of Ruperts Land. Also of several of the principal orders and regulations made for the observance of the Settlers now and hereafter to be settled thereon. Which Abstract We the said Settlers have as a subscribed in order to testify our knowledge of the said several Conditions Orders and Regulations.

First Abstract of Conditions

First..... That the said Earl of Selkirk his heirs or assigns or any other person or persons deriving title by from through or under him them or any of them shall not ever

The beginning of a long document dealing with the conveyance of 116,000 square miles from the Company to Lord Selkirk, and with the regulations to be observed by his settlers. It bears forty-eight signatures.

economy in that area; indeed, even the fur trade could be greatly expanded. He pleaded with the Company "to cease sleeping at the edge of the sea without spirit and . . . vigor." He spoke more in sorrow than in anger and readily admitted that the Company was superior in all respects, save aggressiveness, to its rivals, the Montreal traders. The value of Umfreville's book was less in its dialectic than in its excellent description of the country about the Bay.

The Company did not meekly turn the other cheek to such attacks. It replied vigorously and effectively to its assailants, as we can see from another pamphlet in the Bell collection, *The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company*. This publication stated that the Crown had every right to issue the charter of 1670 and had granted it to "the first Discoverers of and Adventurers in" the Bay! The Company at great expense, had, established posts, shipped in goods, and sent men inland to cultivate the friendship of the Indians and to induce them to come to the Bay for trade. Now others were attempting to reap the fruits of this toilsome sowing. The pamphlet also replied to the charges that the Company had not attempted to find the Northwest Passage and had impeded the development of its empire. Although the Indians assured them that there was no such passage, the Company had sent several expensive and fruitless expeditions to search for it. As to development, the pamphlet flatly stated that settlement in that region was impractical: the soil was infertile, snow covered the ground for eight months out of the year, and killing frosts occurred even in the summer. The natives could not raise corn and the Company itself had to import most of the provisions used at its posts. The pamphlet concluded with a plea for support of the Company and of its charter.

The final volume to be reviewed here is Alexander Macdonell's *A Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* (London, 1819). The Bell copy of this work is of special interest, for an endorsement on its cover shows that it was a present from Simon McGillivray to Henry Goulborn. The book itself was Macdonell's apology for the part he played, as a leader of the North West Company, in the incidents and tragedies of the Selkirk colony. He depicted himself as a kindly man, harassed by the colonists and unwillingly dragged into conflict with them. He related that the settlers, dumped into the area and left to fend for themselves, would have perished except for his aid. But his motives were misunderstood and the leaders of the colony became hostile to him, threatening him, blockading his posts, seizing his stores of food, and kidnapping his men. Despite all of this, he sought to avoid trouble; even the fight at Frog Plain was forced upon the North West men by the colonists who attacked them. The volume is an example of ingenious special pleading written by a man who seemed constantly surprised at his own forbearance and virtue.

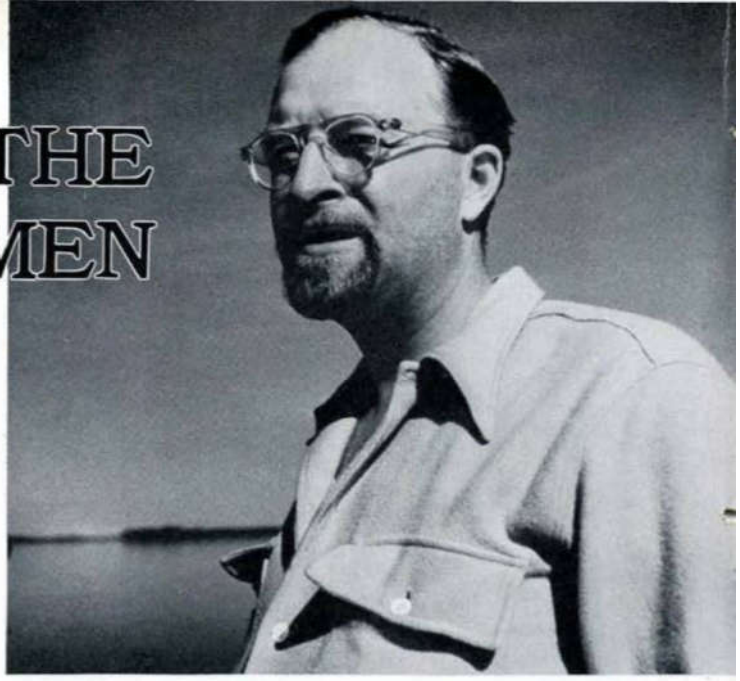
In concluding this article, the writer wishes to point out again that the items reviewed here constitute only a small part of Mr. Bell's collection. Even so brief and incomplete a description, however, must give some indication of the care and interest with which this collection was built up and of its interest and value to the historian. It is a striking example of the importance of the better private collections and of the need for the greater exploitation of their resources.

VOYAGE OF THE MEDICINE MEN

How a group of doctors and nurses carried out a study of the nutrition and health of the James Bay Indians.

by Frederick F. Tisdall and Elizabeth Chant Robertson.

Illustrations from colour photos by M. J. Sym



T. J. Orford, M.D., of Moose Factory, government doctor for the James Bay Indians.

THE Indian Medical Branch of the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources have long been aware of the poor nutritional state of the Canadian bush Indians and its detrimental effect on their health. Numerous studies have been carried out, including a study of the health of the Norway House band, which was made possible through the generous assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company. This study was described in the March 1943 number of the *Beaver* and the scientific findings were recorded in the Canadian Medical Association *Journal* of February 1946. Evidences of marked malnutrition were found, and it was concluded that "many characteristics, such as shiftlessness, indolence, improvidence and inertia, so long regarded as inherent or hereditary traits in the Indian race, may at the root be really the manifestation of malnutrition. Furthermore, it is probable that the Indian's great susceptibility to many diseases, paramount amongst which is tuberculosis, may be attributable amongst other causes to the high degree of malnutrition arising from lack of proper foods."

As the majority of the bush Indians are nomadic and spend approximately seven to nine months each year on their trap-lines, far removed from the trading posts, the provision of a nutritionally adequate food supply involves many problems. Due to the difficulties of transportation and storage while they are off hunting, they must obtain a certain proportion of their food from "the country" in the form of meat from fur-bearing and other animals, ducks, geese and fish, and at certain seasons of the year in the form of berries and edible plants. As the remaining food is transported long distances by canoe, and obtained at most only two or three times a year, it must be compact, comparatively non-perishable, easily stored, and in most instances—due to the poor economic status of the Indians—relatively cheap. It is not surprising therefore that previous investigations have shown that well over seventy-five percent of the food purchased by the Indians, based on its caloric value, consists of just three articles of food: white flour, lard and sugar. The modern science of nutrition has demonstrated that a diet composed largely of these three foods results in malnutrition, which is usually associated with a reduction in growth, physical stamina, mental alertness, and resistance to disease. As already mentioned, there is a high incidence of tuberculosis among the Indians. This is of great importance not only to the Indians but also the white population, as any attempt to eradicate this disease in Canada must include institution of preventive measures for everyone.

In an effort to solve some of these problems, an investigation was planned to study the James Bay Indians. This was to include a study of their food supply, their general health and nutritional state, their dental condition—as this is clearly related to the food supply—their housing and sanitation (or lack of it) and the prevalence of tuberculosis. In addition, possible methods for augmenting or improving the food supplies of these Indians were to be thoroughly investigated. This would include the study of (*a*) practical means for increasing their supplies of wild foods; (*b*) the chances of really interesting the Indians in raising gardens, and (*c*) the possibility of improving the nutritional value of the food purchased at the posts.

A study of how to improve the economic condition of the Indians through continuation of the fur conservation projects introduced eighteen years ago by the H B C, and possibly through the development of village industries and handicrafts, was also included in the plan of the study. However, it was felt if recommendations were to be made as a result of this investigation, that it was also essential to have sociological and anthropological information. For instance, it would be useless to recommend a limited agricultural program, even provided suitable soil and climatic conditions were present, if the Indian's only ambition was to be a hunter and he could not be led to take any lasting interest in gardening. In other words, it would seem essential to obtain more information on how the Indian thinks, and on how he could best be helped to improve his living conditions.

The study was planned by the "National Committee on Community Health Surveys" under the chairmanship of Dr. Percy Vivian, professor of health and social medicine of McGill University, and was made possible through the financial support (recom-

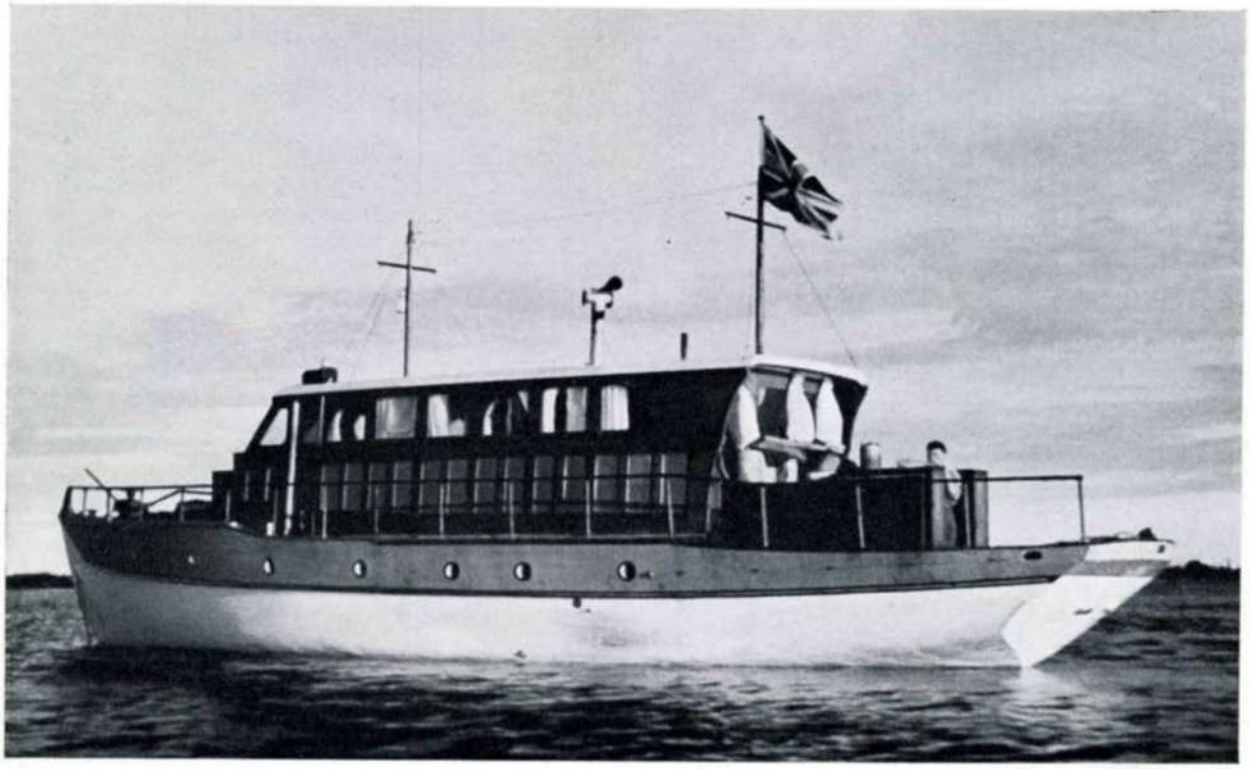
mended by the joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the health of the Indians) of the Departments of National Health and Welfare and Mines and Resources, and by a very generous grant made by the Canadian Life Insurance Officers Association.

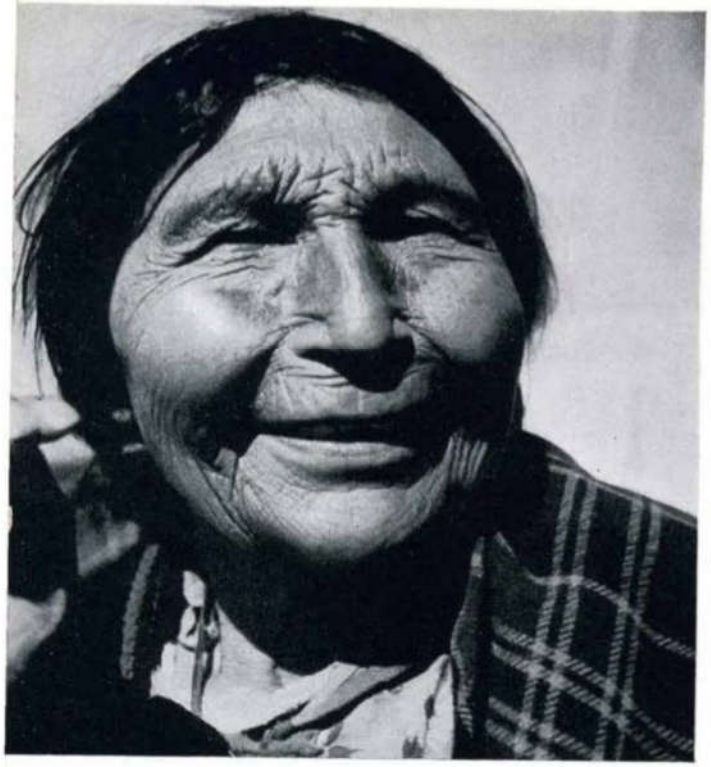
It was recommended by Dr. P. E. Moore, superintendent of Indian health services of the Department of National Health and Welfare, that two of the James Bay bands be chosen for intensive study. In order to select these bands, Professor Gordon Brown, associate professor of anthropology, University of Toronto, who is in charge of the sociological and anthropological aspects of the study, and his two assistant anthropologists, J. J. Honigmann and A. J. Kerr, in July 1947 inspected the Moose Factory, Albany, Attawapiskat, Fort George and Rupert's House bands. As a result of this survey, it was decided to study the Attawapiskat and Rupert's House bands intensively, and arrangements were made for Mr. Honigmann to live with the former band and for Mr. Kerr to live with the latter one for a period of approximately one year. Attawapiskat is in the northwest section and Rupert's House is in the southeast section of James Bay. The agricultural, fisheries, game, fur conservation and general economic aspects of the study were undertaken during 1947-48.

The medical side of the study was carried out in August 1947. It was planned to proceed from Moosonee, at the south end of James Bay, to Attawapiskat, a distance of approximately 200 miles, and then from Attawapiskat to Rupert's House, again a distance of approximately 200 miles, by the *Jano II*, the sixty-foot boat belonging to the Department of Mines and Resources. The boat was also to serve as the headquarters for the expedition while at Attawapiskat and Rupert's House. The Ontario Northland Railway runs a mixed freight and passenger train twice weekly from Cochrane to Moosonee on Wednesdays and Fridays. An advance party, with the X-ray equipment (consisting of a generator and two portable X-ray units kindly loaned by the division of tuberculosis prevention of the Ontario Department of Health in charge of their Mr. Gordon Stockley), accompanied by Dr. Charles McMillan, associate professor of health and social medicine, McGill University, and Professor Gordon Brown, set out from Toronto on Tuesday night, August 12, to catch the Wednesday morning train from Cochrane. The rest of the party, consisting of Drs. Percy Vivian, Percy Moore, W. H. Sebrell, of the United States Public Health Service, W. G. McIntosh, of the faculty of dentistry, University of Toronto, and the two authors, together with Mike Sym of Winnipeg, the official photographer, set out from Toronto on Friday night, August 15, for Cochrane. By a happy coincidence, Colonel Reynolds, chairman of the commission of the Ontario Northland Railway, was proceeding to Moosonee, and he kindly invited the party to share his private car from Cochrane to Moosonee.

On arrival at Moosonee about 8 p.m. on Saturday, the party proceeded to board the *Jano II*, being joined there by Dr. McMillan, Dr. T. J. Orford, the doctor in charge of the James Bay Indians, and a graduate nurse of Dr. Moore's department, Miss M. Halkett, a full-blooded Cree Indian. Mr. Stockley and Mr. Brown had left the previous day for Attawapiskat with the X-ray equipment on the Hudson's Bay boat, the *Fort Agimiski*. If the reader is by any chance familiar with the *Jano II*, he can imagine the state of confusion and what can be described mildly as overcrowding. The sixty-foot boat has an official sleeping capacity of nine, but when finally everyone was on board, including Mr. Stockley, Mr. Brown and

The sixty-foot *Jano II*, into which were crowded thirteen doctors, nurses, anthropologists, and X-ray technicians, with a crew of five.





This old woman was happy about the whole thing.

another graduate nurse, Miss M. Crowe, who was already at Attawapiskat, along with the crew of five, there were no less than eighteen on board. By the use of cots and sleeping bags distributed wherever there was available space, along with the valiant efforts of Daniel Sailor, the Indian cook, and his helper, we really were quite comfortable—if one wants to look at it that way.

The trip was planned, weather permitting, to allow us four days at Attawapiskat, two for the journey to Rupert's House, three at Rupert's House, and then two to get back to Moosonee in order to catch the 6.30 a.m. train on Friday morning, August 28. However, "the weather did not permit." We woke up on Sunday morning to find ourselves rolling merrily along at approximately nine knots on a reasonably calm but muddy sea. For many of us it was a first experience of James Bay. You can imagine our surprise when, early in the afternoon, with the shore line barely discernible in the distance, the most efficient Indian skipper, Jimmie Gunnar, took a sounding and reported only eight feet of water. He then announced that it would not be possible to reach Attawapiskat in time to get into the river on the high tide and if we went on we would have to anchor some miles off shore for eight hours. As the breeze had freshened and the sea was rising, we unanimously approved of his decision to turn into the Albany River and wait there until about 3 a.m. Monday morning.

Then came the search for the buoy. Eventually it was found, a gasoline drum painted black, anchored some eight miles off shore, with the surrounding water about seven feet deep, and the boat drawing five and one-half feet. To our amazement, we were informed that we had to follow a channel marked by two or three buoys in these eight miles—in what appeared to be open sea—until we reached the mouth of the Albany. Then we followed a zig-zag course some five miles up the river to the Hudson's Bay post. A portion of the Albany band had their tents pitched in the neighbourhood of the post and the Anglican mission, while the remainder of the band were on the opposite side, a little further up the river, at the Roman Catholic mission of Ste. Anne's.

That evening we moved down to the mouth of the river and went to bed, confidently expecting to wake up in the morning to find ourselves well on the way to Attawapiskat. To our dismay, Monday morning found us still in the mouth of the Albany, the weather being clear but blowing a gale. The wind continued, and Tuesday morning found us still in the mouth of the Albany. The slight overcrowding on the boat was becoming more obvious. . . .

As we would be delayed at least twelve more hours, we went back to the Hudson's Bay post and proceeded to conduct a medical and dental examination of some of the Albany Indians, and make an inspection of the housing and sanitary conditions at both sites. Early that afternoon (Tuesday) Gordon Mitchell, with his Austin Airways Norseman plane, dropped in at Albany on the way to Attawapiskat. We availed ourselves of the opportunity for two of us to go on with him in order to get set up for the medical and dental examinations, so that no time would be lost when, or if, the remainder of the party arrived at Attawapiskat on the high tide early Wednesday morning. It took just forty minutes to fly from Albany to Attawapiskat. In contrast, the next morning the *Jano II* anchored off the Hudson's Bay post at Attawapiskat with a rather bedraggled looking group of scientists who had spent a restless and unhappy twelve hours on a rough sea.

The examination of the Indians proceeded more expeditiously than we had dared hope, and by Friday at noon we had medically examined and taken X-rays of 278. A large proportion of these were also examined dentally and over 500 photographs were taken. A study of the housing and sanitary conditions was also made. This would not have been possible without the generous co-operation of Father Parent and Father Fay of the Roman Catholic Mission, who placed their large mission house at our disposal. Currie McArthur, the Hudson's Bay post manager, and Mrs. McArthur were more than kind in helping to make our stay as comfortable as possible. With the help of Mr. McArthur, David Wynne, an independent trader, Father Parent and Mr. Honigmann, we were able to secure reasonably accurate information on the total food supply of the whole band for the preceding two years.

Friday afternoon we started the ten-mile trip down to the mouth of the Attawapiskat, just one day late, with the foolish hope that we would soon make this up. To our surprise, we anchored at the mouth of the river, although it appeared a perfect day, not a cloud in the sky, only a gentle breeze blowing, and a temperature of 85°. On asking Jimmie Gunnar what he thought of the weather, his laconic reply was, "Not much." Being asked to elaborate, he stated that we would "soon have an electrical storm with a strong south wind which would change to the north and then die out." He was perfectly right. Within two hours a severe thunderstorm broke; but what he didn't tell us was that it was going to last for thirty-six hours. There we were, anchored at the mouth of the Attawapiskat all Friday night, all Saturday, and it wasn't until Sunday morning that we passed through the five miles of tortuous channel to reach the relatively deep (more than ten feet) water of James Bay. We had

high hopes we would arrive at Rupert's House early Monday morning, just one day late on our time-table. Foolish thought!

Sunday afternoon, while wallowing through a moderate following sea, we again asked Jimmie what he thought of the weather. His stock answer came back, "Not much," and he proceeded—to our relief—to turn again into Albany, as the wind had freshened decidedly. It was soon obvious that we would be delayed most of Monday at Albany, so we proceeded to the Hudson's Bay dock and, although it was not in our original plans, we made arrangements to carry out a medical and dental examination on as many Indians as possible. The examinations were conducted in the Anglican schoolhouse, and by Monday afternoon we had examined 158 Albany band natives.

Needless to say, we now began to wonder whether we would ever reach Rupert's House at all. However, as the wind began to die down on Monday afternoon, we decided, as it was within the realm of possibility to reach Rupert's House Tuesday morning, to set out. This would give us just one day there, as we felt it essential after our experience of delays to allow Wednesday and Thursday to make the ten-hour trip from Rupert's House to Moosonee. Off we set from Albany, still hoping. On Tuesday morning we woke up to find ourselves sailing up a broad river, but again imagine our dismay when Jimmie informed us that the weather did not look right and we were in the Moose River, proceeding to Moosonee. There was just one last chance, certainly not a very bright one, that the boat might be able to get over to Rupert's House Tuesday night with the heavy X-ray equipment and that the rest of the party might proceed by plane, as it was essential that we have plane transportation to get us back to Moosonee on Thursday. To our delight, on proceeding to the Hudson's Bay post at Moose Factory, we saw Gordon Mitchell's plane there, and arrangements were soon made to charter it for a trip over to Rupert's House on Wednesday and back Thursday. The party lost little time in getting off the *Jano* and proceeding by canoe to the Hudson's Bay post, where most of us were comfortably looked after as the guests of the Company at the staff house. R. M. Duncan, the post manager, and Mrs. Duncan very generously welcomed the authors as their guests in their most interesting old post house. While at Moose Factory we examined eighty-three Indians and investigated their housing and sanitary conditions.

The boat left as planned on Tuesday afternoon, with the X-ray equipment, Mr. Brown, Mr. Stockley and another nurse, Miss Leuty, on board. However, all our delays were not over. Wednesday morning we were up at 5.30 in order to start at 6.30. On looking out at the plane, we found that, due to a heavy wind and an unusually low tide, it was practically high and dry on a mud bank. There was nothing to be done but wait until the tide came in. So it wasn't until 11 a.m. that we finally took to the air. You can well understand our relief when we came down at Rupert's House one hour later to find the *Jano* already docked. With the assistance of A. H. Michell, the Hudson's Bay post manager, Mrs. Jimmie Watt and Mr. Mitchell, the Anglican minister, the equipment was soon set up in the remarkably fine J. S. C. Watt Memorial Hall, and shortly after 2 o'clock the examination "assembly line" was in full operation. Working through Wednesday evening, we had completed by Thursday afternoon the examination of all the available Indians, 214 in number, and had obtained the essential information on the band's food supply for the previous two years. Mr. and Mrs. Michell very kindly looked after a portion of the party.

The last lap of the trip now began. The X-ray equipment had all been packed on board the boat when the plane arrived about 4.30 p.m. to take the majority of the party back to Moose Factory. One hour later we landed there. After a most delicious dinner with the Duncans, the various articles of baggage and a tired but happy group of scientists were transported in two large canoes to Moosonee, where the members of the party soon tumbled into bed, either on Col. Reynolds' private car or in the guest cabins of the Ontario Northland Railway—to start off at 6.30 the next morning on the pleasant but uneventful 24-hour journey to Toronto.

The expedition had turned out more successfully than any of us had anticipated. We had not only studied the conditions at the Attawapiskat and Rupert's House bands but examined 153 Indians of the Albany band and 83 of the Moose Factory band. In all, 728 Indians were examined medically, 491 were examined from the dental standpoint, 504 X-rays were made, and over 1,000 photographs taken. In each case an appraisal was made of the patient's general condition and alertness, both mental and physical, and he was examined for the presence of old or active tuberculosis of the cervical glands, enlarged thyroid, bony deformities, possibly due to old rickets, and changes in the hair, skin, eyes, lips and tongue which may result from malnutrition. The heart was examined and, at Attawapiskat, the blood pressure and pulse rate were taken. Clinical examination of the lungs was not carried out. The presence of vaccination scars was noted. Following the medical examination, the majority had a dental examination, which included a survey of both the hard and soft tissues. In a few instances, dental X-rays and bacterial smears from the gingival tissues were taken.

Albany mother and *awashish*.

Good strong teeth characterize the Indians of the Attawapiskat band.

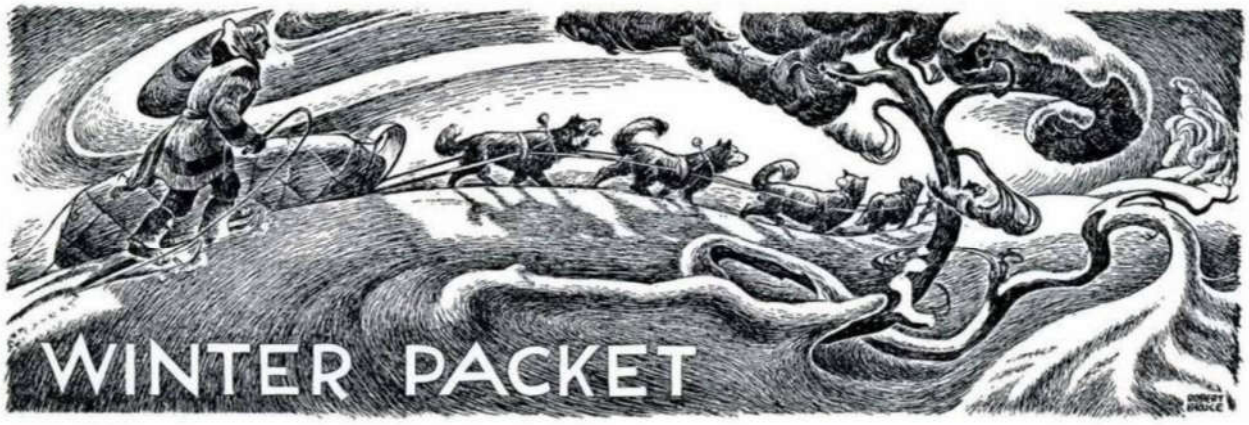
As the current nutritional state of an individual may be affected by the food he has eaten during preceding months, the food supplies of the Attawapiskat and Rupert's House bands were obtained in detail for the past two years. It was found among other things that the recent food supply is higher in vitamin A at Attawapiskat (due to the large number of water-fowl eaten) than at Rupert's House. There was also a very striking difference in dental caries. At all ages, the teeth at Rupert's House showed a much greater prevalence of this condition. Although poorer nutritionally, the Attawapiskat band was more remote from civilization, and had remarkably good teeth. It was also learned that, before the institution of family allowances and relief—and in the case of the Rupert's House band, before the establishment of the beaver conservation scheme—there were records of actual starvation in both bands.

The influence of environmental factors must also be taken into consideration, such as the rigorous climate, the high physical exertion necessary in everyday life, the excessive light reflected from the snow and the prevalence of tuberculosis—all of which may increase the nutritional needs above normal.

By and large, the most serious medical problem encountered was the extremely high incidence of both pulmonary and extra-pulmonary tuberculosis.

It is hoped that from the information obtained, along with that secured during the year 1947-48 by the anthropologists and other experts, practical recommendations applicable to all the bush Indians in Canada can be made to the Dominion Government. When these are put into effect, it should result in an improvement in the health and general economic condition of the Canadian bush Indian.

The recommendations referred to above will be found in the December issue of the C.M.A. Journal. *They deal with improved medical and dental services, food supply, and health and nutrition education. One of the suggestions—the installation of quick-freeze facilities for preserving fresh meat—has already been carried out by the H B C at Rupert's House (*Beaver *Sept. '48, p. 43).—Ed.*



N.W.M.P.

Three quarters of a century ago, the now world-famous force affectionately known as "The Mounties" was formed and sent west to spend its first winter not far from the new town of Winnipeg. The influence of the Hudson's Bay Company for law and order had been officially brought to a close by the transference of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada. With no police to enforce restrictions, the West was fast becoming wild and woolly.

To these adventurous newcomers in the Queen's scarlet, the men of the Company extended their hospitality and assistance, as well as the benefit of their long experience in dealing with the fierce tribes of the plains. And ever since then, men of the police and the Company have worked together on the Canadian frontier, whether on the prairies, in the forests, or along the barren Arctic shores.

To-day, after seventy-five years of stirring history, the Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman in his red tunic and broad-brimmed Stetson has become a symbol of the Dominion he serves. He is at once the tourists' delight and the lawbreakers' nemesis. Novelists have done their best to glamourize him out of all semblance to reality; but he remains a very human being, whom his bold and hardy predecessors wintering at Lower Fort Garry in December 1873 would have been proud to know as a comrade-in-arms.

Arctic Circular

If you want to keep abreast of what's happening in the Canadian Arctic, you can't do better than join the "Arctic Circle" and read its periodical, the *Arctic Circular*. The seventh issue of this mimeographed sheet recently arrived at the *Beaver* office, and as usual is full of interesting stuff. Articles carried in it deal with such subjects as the discovery of two large islands in Foxe Basin, the R.C.N. northern training cruise, the barren-ground caribou investigation, an expedition to collect specimens of Ungava Caribou, archaeological investigations in Frobisher Bay, "Operation Magnetic" in the western Arctic, the Queen's University expedition to Southampton Island, aspects of the geodetic survey of 1948, and a survey of the middle and lower Thelon River basins.

The Arctic Circle was formed in Ottawa a year ago, the first meeting being attended by about a hundred people interested in that part of the Dominion. The first number of the *Circular* which resulted from this meeting stated that its objects were twofold: To provide concise and accurate information on current activities in the Arctic; and to assist research by publishing requests for information on particular regions or subjects, and for collection of specimens.

Membership, which includes the *Circular*, is $2 a year for Ottawa members, and $1 for members living elsewhere. Subscriptions should be sent to T. H. Manning, secretary, at 37 Linden Terrace, Ottawa, Ontario.

Contributors

J. W. Anderson, manager of the Company's Ungava section, used to manage the James Bay district, and knows the Moose Factory country well. . . . Marion H. Bryden, who became interested in the history of Red River steamboats when she was a student at the University of Manitoba, is the wife of W. K. Bryden, Saskatchewan's deputy minister of labour. . . . Richard Harrington is by now well known to *Beaver* readers as a first class outdoor photographer. Watch for a new series of his pictures in the next issue. . . . Douglas Leechman, Ph.D., another frequent contributor, is an archaeologist at the National Museum, Ottawa. . . . Margaret Arnett MacLeod is a member of the council of the Champlain Society. Her editing of *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* has won wide acclaim. . . . George Pendleton spent several years in the service of the Company's western districts. . . . Elizabeth Chant Robertson, M.D., and Frederick F. Tisdall, M.D., are both on the staff of the Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto. Experts on nutrition, they have long been interested in the diet of northern peoples, and act as advisers to the Company's fur trade department in this field. . . . W. N. Sage, Ph.D., is chairman of the department of history at the University of British Columbia. . . . Reginald Saw, English solicitor, was reader

in English at Cologne University from 1935 to 1939, and is the author of *The Bank of England, 1694-1944*. . . . DONALD F. WARNER, Ph.D., is associate professor of history at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. His doctoral thesis at Yale was a study of the movements for the annexation of Canada to the United States. . . . ARTHUR WOODWARD, Ph.D., is chief curator of history at the Los Angeles County Museum. He has made a special study of Indian trade goods. . . . J. STINSON YOUNG, who wrote the article on hunting in the Cassiar in the September 1947 *Beaver*, is president of Pathé Industries.

No Ice, Please!

An impression seems to be prevalent in southern circles, aided and abetted by a photo that is now going the rounds of small American newspapers, that Eskimo igloos are built of ice. The dome-shaped igloo, however, is also called a snowhouse, which makes its substance, if not its construction, quite clear. The construction of an igloo with blocks of ice, on the other hand, would make everything (including the inmates) unmistakably clear. Clear and cold, as the weatherman says. Also, we wonder how long it would take to remove the hard-packed snow from a stretch of frozen sea, saw up the blocks of ice, trim them, and erect them into a dome. . . . Pass the H B blankets, please . . . .

New Members

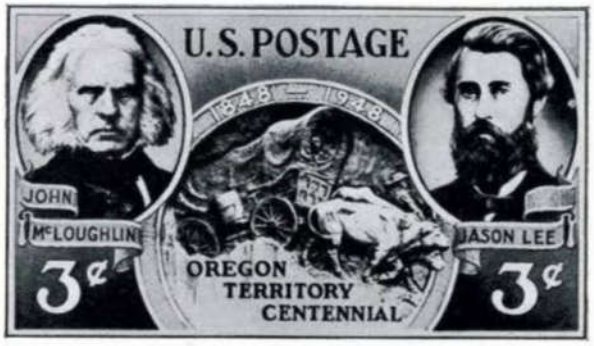
At the beginning of October the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company announced the appointment of two outstanding Winnipeggers to the Canadian Committee. They are Stewart A. Searle, president and treasurer of the Searle Grain Company, and Perley Banbury, general manager of the Beaver Lumber Company. Mr. Banbury took his degree, in political science, at the University of Toronto, while Mr. Searle is a Yale man.

The Canadian Committee, which meets weekly at Hudson's Bay House, now consists of ten members.

Fort Vancouver

Public attention in the United States has been directed recently to the Company's Fort Vancouver and the man who for so long was its presiding genius—Chief Factor McLoughlin. The site of the fort, the excavation of which was described in the March *Beaver*, was set aside this year as a national monument. Representative Mack of Washington State introduced a bill to this effect last March, and in May the Congressional public lands committee approved it. The Senate passed the bill in June, and later in the month it was signed by President Truman.

In August the United States Post Office Department issued a three-cent stamp marking the Oregon Territory centennial. The design consists of a covered wagon flanked by portraits of Dr. McLoughlin and Rev. Jason Lee—both of whom, strangely enough, were Canadian born. (The Company's 1941 calendar painting depicted McLoughlin welcoming Lee at Fort Vancouver in 1834).



The commemorative stamp, issued last August at Oregon City, depicting Chief Factor McLoughlin of Fort Vancouver and Rev. Jason Lee, Methodist missionary.

The veneration in which the "Father of Oregon" is held was also shown last July, when his body and that of his widow were taken with much ceremony from old St. John's Church in Oregon City and reinterred in new graves on a bluff overloking the Willamette River, opposite the new St. John's Church. The service was conducted by the Most Rev. Edward D. Howard, Archbishop of Portland, assisted by several priests from both Oregon and Washington. Dr. Burt Brown Barker, president of the McLoughlin Memorial Association, spoke briefly at the graveside. A memorial is to be erected over the graves.

Arctic Ships

This is the first time in many outfits that the *Beaver* has not carried a story on the annual Eastern Arctic supply voyage. The reason, of course, is that the famed *Nascopie*, which used to do the supplying job, is no more. Instead, her work was done this year by half-a-dozen smaller vessels. One of these, the *Eskimo*, was bought last year by the Company from the R.C.A.F., and this summer supplied H B posts and government stations in Hudson Bay and Strait. The *Clarenville* and *Terra Nova*, both Newfoundland ships, were chartered by the Company to take freight and passengers to Baffin Island, the latter supplying the government establishments, and also visiting Hudson Bay. The little *Earl's Trader*, also chartered by the H B C, supplemented the work of the *Eskimo* in the Bay and Strait; while the R.C. Missions ship, *Regina Polaris*, carried freight and passengers for the government and missions from Churchill north to Chesterfield and Baker Lake.

Less ice was encountered in 1948 than for many years, and the Company schooner *Fort Severn* was able to re-establish the post at Igloolik—closed since 1943—without too much difficulty.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NORTHLAND, ONTARIO, by O. T. G. Williamson; Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1948; 110 pages.

THIS little volume, a second printing of the original published in 1946, is just the sort of book to place in the hands of the summer tourist or fall duck hunter when he joins the Ontario Northland Railway at North Bay en route to James Bay. It will give him, in eight entertaining and readable chapters, a great deal of information which should add to his enjoyment of the region he is visiting.

Chapter one gives the historical background of the Ontario northland, and here again, as in so many fields of Canadian history, we are reminded that early exploration and development were dependent on the rivalry of the French and English for the Canadian fur trade. As early as 1615 Champlain visited Lake Nipissing, where the city of North Bay now stands, and we all know the part the French fur traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, had in the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company and thereby the English fur trade in James Bay. Save for the period of the French wars and the struggle with the North West Company, the author looks upon the Northern Ontario portion of James Bay as a Hudson's Bay Company monopoly. If such was the case, it was due to the inaccessibility of the country and the difficulties of supply rather than to any other one factor. Now that the Ontario Northland Railway has reached tidewater at Moosonee, it is wide open to all comers. The way is easy and the privations negligible.

But the fur trade, though the earliest commercial development, was not the justification for the Ontario Northland Railway, and the author goes on to show how it was originally a colonizing road intended to take colonists into the rich agricultural land of the northern part of the province. And in doing so it opened up incalculable mineral wealth, as told in the very interesting chapter on "Hard Rock." Next for development came the timber resources with small saw-mill villages springing up all along the railway. Next came the development of power, pulp and paper, and, lastly, the tourist and summer holiday possibilities of the northland as described in the chapter "Sunshine and Fresh Air." It is altogether an interesting and exciting story and cannot do other than stir the imagination of the traveller into Northern Ontario. Certainly the author's imagination was stirred when, in stating that the true north lies beyond the railhead at Moosonee, he goes on to say, "It is the land where Henry Hudson died, and where Sir John Franklin found an unknown grave."

The book gives the impression of being written from the railway "angle"—though it is nonetheless readable "for a' that." As it was originally printed before the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario changed its name, that designation will be found throughout the volume, rather than the modern "Ontario Northland Railway."—*J. W. A.*

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, by T. A. Rickard. Printed by the Wrigley Printing Co., Vancouver, B.C., for the author, 1948. 371 pages.

DR. T. A. Rickard, of Victoria, B.C., historian and mining engineer, has a new approach to the study of the history of British Columbia. In his foreword he states:

> "No intelligent person will be content to live anywhere without acquiring some knowledge of the history of his habitat; of the town and country in which his lot is cast. One cannot study the history of any region intelligently while wearing intellectual blinkers. The record of events in a given part of the world cannot be understood properly except in relation to contemporaneous happenings in other related parts. . . . Four countries, namely, Russia, Spain, the United States, and Great Britain, are linked with our province historically; therefore to comprehend the history of our home land we must know something about the conditions existing in the four countries during the period under review. In other words, we must study the backgrounds as well as the foreground of British Columbia. This I have tried to do for the reader of this book."

The author has done his work carefully and well. The nine chapters of the book follow in definite pattern. After an introductory chapter dealing with the "prehistoric background," in which Dr. Rickard shows that he has carefully read his sources and knows the modern trend in Anthropology, the next six chapters deal with the Russian background and advance, the Spanish background and advance, the American background and advance. Then follows the "English Background" in chapter VIII, and in the final chapter, "The Foreground; British Columbia." In fact one might say that the planning of the book is an example of historical engineering. The author is determined to place British Columbia's history in its world setting, a task hitherto unattempted on such a scale.

The volume shows the effects of a lifetime of reading and research. It also indicates the professional knowledge of the mining engineer. To be sure the canvas is broad, and the wider the canvas the greater the possibility of error. Dr. Rickard has attempted to write a popular history, and to marshal his facts so that they will bear on the history of the northwest coast. Because he is dealing with a vast field he cannot indulge to any extent in the temptation to tell the story in great detail. He must hurry on to the next topic. The book, although it does not lack cohesion, tends to be episodic, and even at times kaleidoscopic. There are a few factual errors, but they are relatively unimportant.

On the whole this reviewer enjoyed best the chapters on the Russian and Spanish backgrounds. Here Dr. Rickard was summarizing factual material which has usually been neglected by historians of the northwest coat. The chapter on the English background is probably the least satisfactory. The chapter on British Columbia is a good summary based on a sound knowledge of the subject. The narrative is carried

to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 and its extension to Vancouver, B.C., in 1887.

There is no index, a most unfortunate omission. And so this volume, which is a real contribution to the historiography of the Pacific province, is deprived of what should have been one of its greatest assets, the facility of ready reference.—*Walter N. Sage.*

FROM OUT OF THE YUKON, by James H. Bond. Binfords & Mort, Portland, Oregon, 1948.

JAMES H. Bond, the author of this book, has passed some fifty days hunting big game in the Ogilvies, the mountain range that divides the Yukon valley from the Arctic slope. He kills a record moose—a truly gigantic trophy—and sees many more almost as large. For many days grizzly bear are almost constantly in sight. He encounters Dall sheep in all their majesty. The caribou migration, with two massive trophies, also enters his story. He goes in with two guides and four horses, and comes out in a primitive moose-hide boat almost two months later with one companion by way of the Stewart, some 240 miles of treacherous river navigation. A very rugged adventure.

But, to give the impression, as the author does, that this is virgin country in any respect is wholly erroneous. It is only a hundred and fifty air miles from Dawson and the famous Klondike, and by no means inaccessible. Forty-five years ago there was hardly a bar or creek bed in this entire area that did not bear the scars of the prospector's pick and shovel; and, as distances go in the north, it is not too far from Whitehorse.

We believe that in the Gold Rush days this locality was not particularly notable for big game. In fact, the prospector was often hard-put to live off the country. This may be similar to the Seward peninsula in western Alaska, where within the last fifty years the nature of dominant wild life has changed so radically.

Mr. Bond must be highly commended for discovering and bringing to the attention of our contemporary big game hunting fraternity a little known area where presently may be found the most highly desirable trophy animals on this continent at their very best; namely, the moose, the Dall sheep, and the barren ground caribou.

The author frequently refers to the limestone formation as being responsible for the exceptional size of the ruminants he observed, but he makes no mention of seeing any particularly large grizzlies. One would expect to find *Ursus Horribilis* here as large or larger than in the Yukon valley or on the Pacific slope. Yet, from the number seen, this is apparently not so. The barren ground grizzly must be a very definitely smaller variety, rather than just a phase—an interesting point for further observation.

All in all, this book would be of most particular interest to trophy hunters who are looking for new fields of venture, and it should find a place in the library of every big game hunter and naturalist whose interest lies in the North. We would like to see more books of this type, though it must be confessed that their appeal is only to a small and very select group.—*J. Stinson Young.*

LIFE ON THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH, 1857-1887, being a History of Navigation on the Red River of the North, by Fred A. Bill and others, with an Introduction by Usher L. Burdick. Wirth Brothers, Baltimore, 1947. 122 pages.

THE major portion of this privately printed book consists of a series of articles on the history of steamboating on the Red River first published in the *Burlington Post*, Iowa, in 1928. The articles were written by Fred A. Bill, who served as a clerk on one of the steamboats in the 1870's. Although Mr. Bill had copyrighted his articles and deposited an official copy with the Library of Congress, the copy had disappeared during the various moves of the copyright office. Mr. Burdick came into possession of another copy in 1934 and submitted it to the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, which published extracts from the articles in 1942. The complete series is now being made available in permanent form in this book.

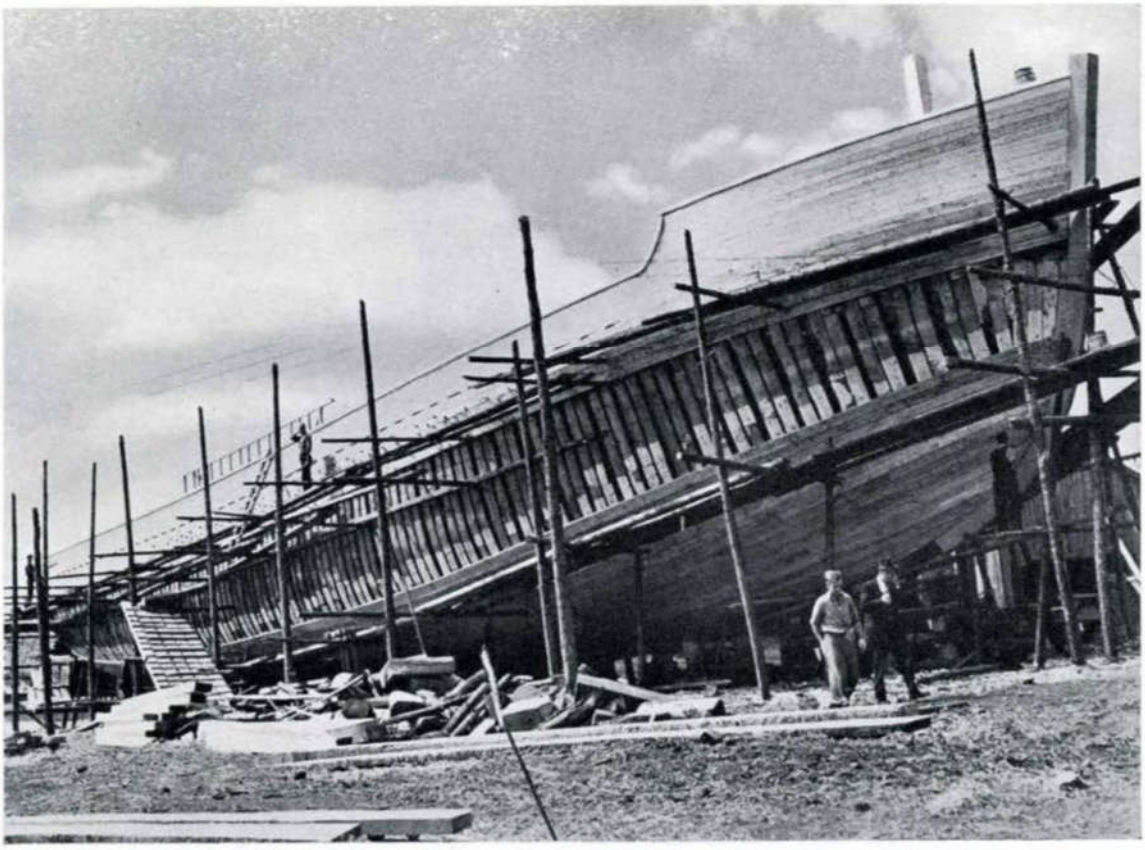
In addition to the Bill articles, the book contains a preface and an introduction by Mr. Burdick; some reminiscences of life in two river towns, Moorhead and Fargo, in the 1870's by J. W. Riggs, of Minneapolis; and some recollections by J. W. Hogges, of Fargo, who was born near Fort Garry in 1869 and grew up in Moorhead.

The articles are a mixture of chronological history, personal recollections and miscellaneous data on boats, river conditions and life in the settlements along the river. Fort Garry, Winnipeg and the Lower Fort are described as they appeared in 1872 to the author. A roster of boats navigating on the river and a list of the men who served on them in various capacities are also included. The roster omits a number of boats which operated exclusively north of the international boundary. Otherwise the material appears fairly complete and reliable. Of particular interest is Mr. Bill's account of the beginnings of steamboating on the Red River and the first steamboat trip to Fort Garry in 1859.

There are several references to the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the development of Red River steamboating. It was the Company's guarantee of 500 tons of freight a year which kept the first steamboat, the *Pioneer*, operating in 1860 and 1861 and led to the construction of the second, the *International*, after the *Pioneer* was sunk in 1862. From 1864 to 1871 the Company, having purchased the *International*, was alone in the international steamboat business on the Red. A competitor appeared in 1871 in the *Selkirk*, but the Company soon joined forces with its owners to found the Red River Transportation Company, which maintained a monopoly hold on the steamboating trade from North Dakota to Manitoba for the next decade, except for a brief period in 1875 when a rival company unsuccessfully attempted to challenge it.

The preface written by Mr. Burdick summarizes the material in the Bill articles, though he makes one error when he reports that the *Minnesota* was the boat which was rammed and sunk during the competitive era of 1875. Her sister ship the *Manitoba* was the actual victim. Mr. Burdick, in his introduction, also gives some interesting facts about the chief boat builder on the river, John S. Irish, of Fargo.—*Marion Herriot Bryden.*

Ships for the Arctic



The largest wooden ship built in Nova Scotia for several years, the M.S. *Fort Hearne* is being constructed at Shelburne to serve the Western Arctic posts of the H B C. She is 150 feet long with a 30-foot beam, and will be powered by a 480-h.p. diesel engine. Wood has been chosen in preference to steel because the vessel will have to remain in the ice all winter long. She should be ready to sail early in May for the Western Arctic via the Panama Canal and Alaska.

The Company's new Eastern Arctic ship now being completed at the Fairfield yard, Glasgow, will do part of the work formerly carried out by the *Nascopie*. 170 feet long, she will be propelled by two 300-h.p. diesel engines driving twin screws housed in Kort nozzles. Her cargo carrying capacity will be 500 long tons, and accommodation will be provided for twelve fur trade personnel. Launched recently by Lady Cooper, wife of the Governor of the Company, the *Rupertsland* will begin her supply work next summer.

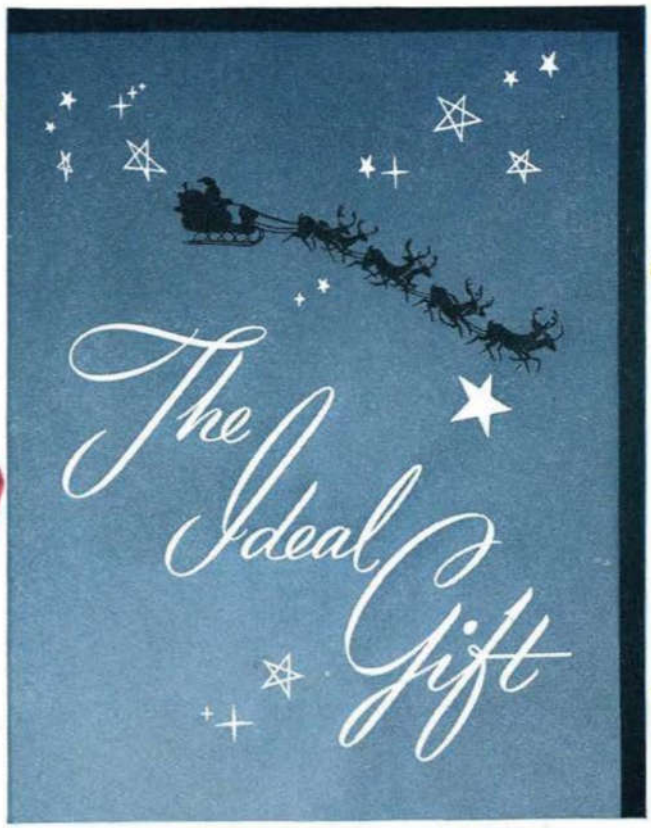
MULTI-STRIPE

CAMEL

GREEN

SCARLET

WHITE WITH GREEN BAR



WHITE WITH BLUE BAR

WILD CRANBERRY

WHITE WITH ROSE BAR

RESEDA

ROSE

SKY BLUE

GOLD

The Gift of a Lifetime—
for Beauty and Comfort

HUDSON'S BAY *Point* BLANKETS